GAI IULI CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIORUM I. II. III.

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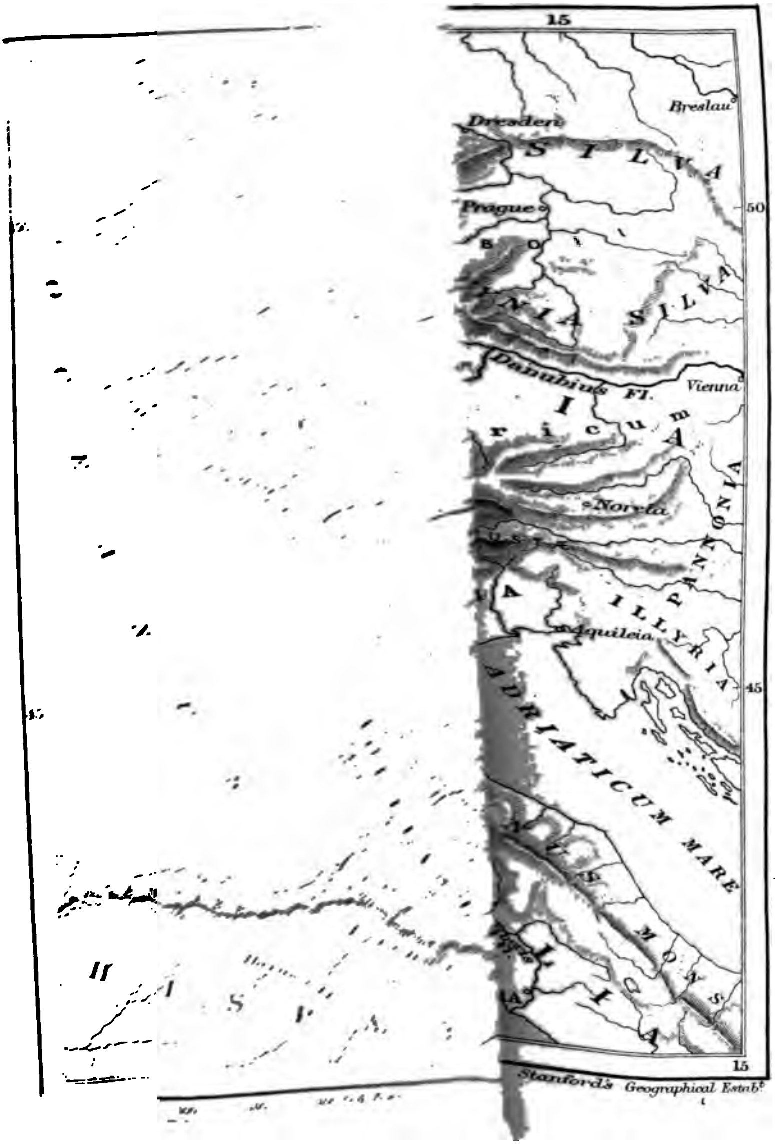
WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

A. G. PESKETT, M.A.
FELLOW OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Cambridge:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
1884


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PREFACE.

In addition to the books that I have elsewhere had occasion to mention as of great use to an editor of Caesar, I have now to record no slight obligations to the magnificent work entitled "Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule Romaine" by M. Ernest Desjardins. An important contribution to Keltic history will be found in Johann Gustav Cuno's "Vorgeschichte Roms," erster Theil, "die Kelten."

The two maps accompanying this edition are taken on an abridged scale from Napoleon's Atlas. I have added no special plans, but have endeavoured to make my notes sufficiently explanatory to enable a careful reader to construct for himself a rough sketch of the principal localities mentioned in the first two books.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE NEW EDITION.

THIS edition differs but little from the preceding. A few corrections have been made and a few additional notes have been written and mostly placed at the end under the head of Addenda. I have looked through the list of recent conjectural alterations, proposed chiefly by H. Kraffert, W. G. Pluygers and W. Paul, collected with commendable diligence by Professor Eussner in Bursian's Jahresbericht, vol. XXVII. Some of them are hardly worth recording. In very few cases have I ventured to admit any alterations into the received text. A valuable recension of the Bellum Gallicum has recently (1882) been published by A. Holder, giving a conspectus of the more important MS readings, with an excellent index verborum.

ANALYSIS.

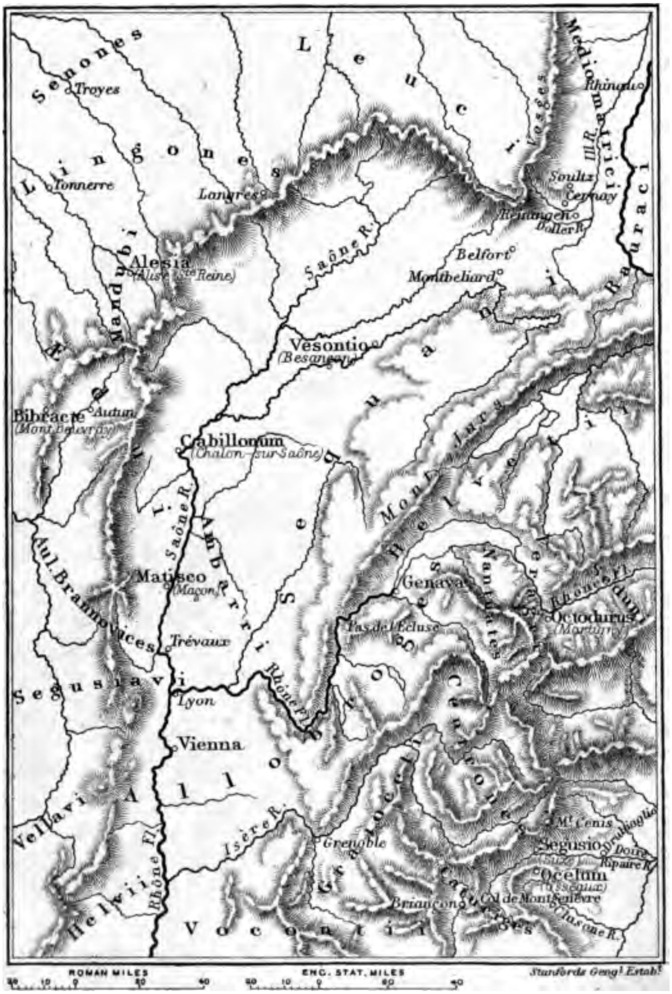
BOOK I.

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I. CAMPAIGN OF 58.



C. IULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARIORUM

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER PRIMUS.

I. GALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea, quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important, proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt. Qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere cotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano; continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum; vergit ad septentriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant in septentrionem et orientem

solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani, quae est ad Hispaniam, pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

2. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetorix. Is M. Messala et M. Pupio Pisone consulibus regni cupiditate inductus coniurationem nobilitatis fecit et civitati persuasit, ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, cum virtute omnibus praestarent, totius Galliae imperio potiri. Id hoc facilius eis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit; altera ex parte monte Iura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. His rebus fiebat, ut et minus late vagarentur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent; qua ex parte homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore afficiebantur. Pro multitudine autem hominum et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos se finis habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant. 3. His rebus adducti et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti constituerunt ea, quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent, comparare, iumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coëmere, sementes quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret, cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt: in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Ad eas res Orgetorix deligitur. Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantaloedis filio, Sequano, cuius pater regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat et a senatu populi Romani amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnorigi

Aeduo, fratri Divitiaci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur, persuadet, eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. Perfacile factu esse illis probat conata perficere, propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium obtenturus esset: non esse dubium, quin totius Galliae plurimum Helvetii possent; se suis copiis suoque exercitu illis regna conciliaturum confirmat. Hac oratione adducti inter se fidem et iusiurandum dant et regno occupato per tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

4. Ea res est Helvetiis per indicium enuntiata. Moribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere coëgerunt. Damnatum poenam sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur. Die constituta causae dictionis Orgetorix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum milia decem, undique coëgit et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit: per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit. Cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis ius suum exsequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est; neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

5. Post eius mortem nihilo minus Helvetii id, quod constituerant, facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant. Ubi iam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt, frumentum omne, praeterquam quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt, ut domum reditionis spe sublata paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent, trium mensum molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre iubent. Persuadent Rauricis et Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimis, uti eodem usi consilio oppidis suis vicisque exustis una cum eis proficiscantur, Boiosque, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant

et in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiamque oppugnarant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt. 6. Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Iuram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissimus impendebat, ut facile perpauci prohibere possent: alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod inter fines Helvetiorum et Allobrogum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit isque nonnullis locis vado transitur. Extremum oppidum Allobrogum est proximumque Helvetiorum finibus Genava. Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur, existimabant, vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus rebus ad profectionem comparatis diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant. Is dies erat a. d. v. Kal. Apr. L. Pisone, A. Gabinio consulibus.

7. Caesari cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci et quam maximis potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriorem contendit et ad Genavam pervenit. Provinciae toti quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat (erat omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una), pontem, qui erat ad Genavam, iubet rescindi. Ubi de eius adventu Helvetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt nobilissimos civitatis, cuius legationis Nammeius et Verucloetius principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent, sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare, ut eius voluntate id sibi facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoria tenebat, L. Cassium consulem occisum exercitumque eius ab Helvetiis pulsum et sub iugum missum, concedendum non putabat; neque homines

inimico animo data facultate per provinciam itineris faciundi temperaturos ab iniuria et maleficio existimabat. Tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites, quos imperaverat, convenirent, legatis respondit diem se ad deliberandum sumpturum: si quid vellent, ad Id. April. reverterentur. 8. Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodanum influit, ad montem Iuram, qui fines Sequanorum ab Helvetiis dividit, milia passuum decem novem murum in altitudinem pedum sedecim fossamque perducit. Eo opere perfecto praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere posset. Ubi ea dies, quam constituerat cum legatis, venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat se more et exemplo populi Romani posse iter ulli per provinciam dare et, si vim facere conentur, prohibiturum ostendit. Helvetii ea spe deiecti navibus iunctis ratibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, nonnunquam interdiu, saepius noctu, si perrumpere possent, conati operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi hoc conatu destiterunt. 9. Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua Sequanis invitis propter angustias ire non poterant. His cum sua sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem Aeduum mittunt, ut eo deprecatore a Sequanis impetrarent. Dumnorix gratia et largitione apud Sequanos plurimum poterat et Helvetiis erat amicus, quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam in matrimonium duxerat, et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat et quam plurimas civitates suo beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. Itaque rem suscipit et a Sequanis impetrat, ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent, perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et iniuria transeant. 10. Caesari

renuntiatur, Helvetiis esse in animo, per agrum Sequanorum et Aeduorum iter in Santonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in provincia. Id si fieret, intellegebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum, ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas ei munitioni, quam fecerat, T. Labienum legatum praefecit; ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit duasque ibi legiones conscribit et tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit et, qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Ceutrones et Graioceli et Caturiges locis superioribus occupatis itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsis ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusiavos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

11. Helvetii iam per angustias et fines Sequanorum suas copias traduxerant et in Aeduorum fines pervenerant eorumque agros populabantur. Aedui, cum se suaque ab eis defendere non possent, legatos ad Caesarem mittunt rogatum auxilium: Ita se omni tempore de populo Romano meritos esse, ut paene in conspectu exercitus nostri agri vastari, liberi eorum in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint. Eodem tempore Aedui Ambarri, necessarii et consanguinei Aeduorum, Caesarem certiorem faciunt sese depopulatis agris non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere. Item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Caesarem recipiunt et demonstrant sibi praeter agri solum nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Caesar non expectandum sibi statuit, dum omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

12. Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Aeduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, iudicari non possit. Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus iunctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est tres iam partes copiarum Helvetios id flumen traduxisse, quartam fere partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse, de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus ad eam partem pervenit, quae nondum flumen transierat. Eos impeditos et inopinantes aggressus magnam partem eorum concidit: reliqui sese fugae mandarunt atque in proximas silvas abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus: nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quattuor pagos divisa est. Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset patrum nostrorum memoria, L. Cassium consulem interfecerat et eius exercitum sub iugum miserat. Ita sive casu sive consilio deorum inmortalium, quae pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Romano intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. Qua in re Caesar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas iniurias ultus est, quod eius soceri L. Pisonis avum, L. Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem proelio, quo Cassium, interfecerant.

13. Hoc proelio facto reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut consequi posset, pontem in Arare faciendum curat atque ita exercitum traducit. Helvetii repentino eius adventu commoti, cum id, quod ipsi diebus viginti aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse intellegerent, legatos ad eum mittunt; cuius legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat. Is ita cum Caesare egit: Si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ituros atque ibi futuros Helvetios, ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset; sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romani et pristinae virtutis Helvetiorum. Quod

improviso unum pagum adortus esset, cum ei, qui flumen transissent, suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magno opere virtuti tribueret aut ipsos despiceret. Se ita a patribus maioribusque suis didicisse, ut magis virtute quam dolo contenderent aut insidiis niterentur. Quare ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate populi Romani et internicione exercitus nomen caperet aut memoriam proderet. 14. His Caesar ita respondit: Eo sibi minus dubitationis dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvetii commemorassent, memoria teneret, atque eo gravius ferre, quo minus merito populi Romani accidissent: qui si alicuius iniuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intellegeret, quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum putaret. Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet, num etiam recentium iniuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim temptassent, quod Aeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur, quodque tam diu se impune iniurias tulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere. Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. Cum ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab eis sibi dentur, uti ea, quae polliceantur, facturos intellegat, et si Aeduis de iniuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese cum eis pacem esse facturum. Divico respondit: Ita Helvetios a maioribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare, consuerint: eius rei populum Romanum esse testem. Hoc responso dato discessit. 15. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar *equitatumque* omnem, ad numerum quattuor milium, quem

ex omni provincia et Aeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, praemittit, qui videant, quas in partes hostes iter faciant. Qui cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum proelium committunt; et pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo proelio sublati Helvetii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere nonnunquam et novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacessere coeperunt. Caesar suos a proelio continebat ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus populationibusque prohibere. Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt, uti inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinis aut senis milibus passuum interesset. 16. Interim cotidie Caesar Aeduos frumentum, quod essent publice polliciti, flagitare. Nam propter frigora, quod Gallia sub septentrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat: eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arare navibus subvexerat, propterea uti minus poterat, quod iter ab Arare Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat. Diem ex die ducere Aedui: conferri, comportari, adesse dicere. Ubi se diutius duci intellexit et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Divitiaco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, quem vergobretum appellant Aedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem, graviter eos accusat, quod, cum neque emi neque ex agris sumi posset, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus ab eis non sublevetur; praesertim cum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum susceperit; multo etiam gravius, quod sit destitutus, queritur. 17. Tum demum Liscus oratione Caesaris adductus, quod antea tacuerat, proponit: Esse

nonnullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint quam ipsi magistratus. Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterrere, ne frumentum conferant, quod debeant: praestare si iam principatum Galliae obtinere non possint, Gallorum quam Romanorum imperia perferre, neque dubitare, quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia Aeduis libertatem sint erepturi. Ab eisdem nostra consilia quaeque in castris gerantur hostibus enuntiari: hos a se coerceri non posse. Quin etiam, quod necessariam rem coactus Caesari enuntiarit, intellegere sese, quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam, quam diu potuerit, tacuisse. 18. Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorigem, Divitiaci fratrem, designari sentiebat, sed, quod pluribus praesentibus eas res iactari nolebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet. Quaerit ex solo ea, quae in conventu dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera: Ipsum esse Dumnorigem, summa audacia, magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cupidum rerum novarum. Complures annos portoria reliquaque omnia Aeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod illo licente contra liceri audeat nemo. His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse et facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse: magnum numerum equitatus suo sumptu semper alere et circum se habere, neque solum domi, sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse atque huius potentiae causa matrem in Biturigibus homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo collocasse, ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem habere, sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocasse. Favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam affinitatem, odisse etiam suo nomine Caesarem et Romanos, quod eorum adventu potentia eius *deminuta, et* Divitiacus frater in antiquum locum gratiae

atque honoris sit restitutus. Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in spem per Helvetios regni obtinendi venire; imperio populi Romani non modo de regno, sed etiam de ea, quam habeat, gratia desperare. Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium eius fugae factum a Dumnorige atque eius equitibus (nam equitatui, quem auxilio Caesari Aedui miserant, Dumnorix praeerat): eorum fuga reliquum esse equitatum perterritum. 19. Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspiciones certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios traduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo iniussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Aeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae arbitrabatur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret, aut civitatem animadvertere iuberet. His omnibus rebus unum repugnabat, quod Divitiaci fratris summum in populum Romanum studium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem, iustitiam, temperantiam cognoverat: nam, ne eius supplicio Divitiaci animum offenderet, verebatur. Itaque prius, quam quicquam conaretur, Divitiacum ad se vocari iubet et cotidianis interpretibus remotis per C. Valerium Procillum, principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summam omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo colloquitur: simul commonefacit, quae ipso praesente in concilio Gallorum de Dumnorige sint dicta, et ostendit, quae separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit. Petit atque hortatur, ut sine eius offensione animi vel ipse de eo causa cognita statuat, vel civitatem statuere iubeat. 20. Divitiacus multis cum lacrimis Caesarem complexus obsecrare coepit, ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret: Scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex eo plus quam se doloris capere, propterea quod, cum ipse gratia plurimum domi atque in reliqua

Gallia, ille minimum propter adolescentiam posset, per se crevisset; quibus opibus ac nervis non solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed paene ad perniciem suam uteretur. Sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod si quid ei a Caesare gravius accidisset, cum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum, uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur. Haec cum pluribus verbis flens a Caesare peteret, Caesar eius dextram prendit; consolatus rogat, finem orandi faciat; tanti eius apud se gratiam esse ostendit, uti et rei publicae iniuriam et suum dolorem eius voluntati ac precibus condonet. Dumnorigem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat, ostendit; quae ipse intellegat, quae civitas queratur, proponit; monet, ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorigi custodes ponit, ut, quae agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit.

21. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus hostes sub monte consedisse milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo, qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu ascensus, qui cognoscerent, misit. Renuntiatum est facilem esse. De tertia vigilia Titum Labienum, legatum pro praetore, cum duabus legionibus et eis ducibus, qui iter cognoverant, summum iugum montis ascendere iubet; quid sui consilii sit, ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere, quo hostes ierant, ad eos contendit equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur et in exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur. 22. Prima luce, cum summus mons a Labieno teneretur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset, neque, *ut postea ex captivis* comperit, aut ipsius adventus aut

Labieni cognitus esset, Considius equo admisso ad eum accurrit, dicit montem, quem a Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri: id se a Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognovisse. Caesar suas copias in proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit. Labienus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesare, ne proelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato nostros exspectabat proelioque abstinebat. Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar cognovit et montem a suis teneri et Helvetios castra movisse et Considium timore perterritum, quod non vidisset, pro viso sibi renuntiavisse. Eo die quo consuerat intervallo hostes sequitur et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

23. Postridie eius diei, quod omnino biduum supererat, cum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Aeduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit: iter ab Helvetiis avertit ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemilii, decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nuntiatur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis, quod pridie superioribus locis occupatis proelium non commisissent, sive eo, quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio atque itinere converso nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt. 24. Postquam id animum advertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit equitatumque, qui sustineret hostium impetum, misit. Ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quattuor veteranorum; sed in summo iugo duas legiones, quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat, et omnia auxilia collocari ac totum montem hominibus compleri

et interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri et eum ab his, qui in superiore acie constiterant, muniri iussit. Helvetii cum omnibus suis carris secuti impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt; ipsi confertissima acie reiecto nostro equitatu phalange facta sub primam nostram aciem successerunt. 25. Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium commisit. Milites e loco superiore pilis missis facile hostium phalangem perfregerunt. Ea disiecta gladiis destrictis in eos impetum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et colligatis, cum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere neque sinistra impedita satis commode pugnare poterant, multi ut diu iactato brachio praeoptarent scutum manu emittere et nudo corpore pugnare. Tandem vulneribus defessi et pedem referre et, quod mons suberat circiter mille passuum, eo se recipere coeperunt. Capto monte et succedentibus nostris Boii et Tulingi, qui hominum milibus circiter XV agmen hostium claudebant et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros latere aperto aggressi circumvenire, et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romani conversa signa bipartito intulerunt: prima et secunda acies, ut victis ac submotis resisteret, tertia, ut venientes sustineret. 26. Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum sustinere nostrorum impetus non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt, alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta *pugnatum est, propter*ea quod pro vallo carros obiecerant

et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela coniciebant, et nonnulli inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas subiciebant nostrosque vulnerabant. Diu cum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetorigis filia atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo proelio circiter hominum milia CXXX superfuerunt eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt: nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso in fines Lingonum die quarto pervenerunt, cum et propter vulnera militum et propter sepulturam occisorum nostri triduum morati eos sequi non potuissent. Caesar ad Lingonas litteras nuntiosque misit, ne eos frumento neve alia re iuvarent: qui si iuvissent, se eodem loco, quo Helvetios, habiturum. Ipse triduo intermisso cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit. 27. Helvetii omnium rerum inopia adducti legatos de deditione ad eum miserunt. Qui cum eum in itinere convenissent seque ad pedes proiecissent suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum adventum exspectare iussisset, paruerunt. Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos, qui ad eos perfugissent, poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur et conferuntur, nocte intermissa circiter hominum milia VI eius pagi, qui Verbigenus appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne armis traditis supplicio afficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod in tanta multitudine dediticiorum suam fugam aut occultari aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte e castris Helvetiorum egressi ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum contenderunt. 28. Quod ubi Caesar resciit, quorum per fines ierant, his, uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit: reductos in hostium numero habuit; reliquos omnes obsidibus, armis, perfugis traditis in deditionem accepit. Helvetios, Tulingos, Latobrigos in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti iussit et, quod omnibus frugibus amissis

domi nihil erat, quo famem tolerarent, Allobrogibus imperavit, ut eis frumenti copiam facerent: ipsos oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, restituere iussit. Id ea maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit eum locum, unde Helvetii discesserant, vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, e suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent. Boios petentibus Aeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt quosque postea in parem iuris libertatisque condicionem, atque ipsi erant, receperunt.

29. In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae et ad Caesarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum summa erat capitum Helvetiorum milia CCLXIII, Tulingorum milia XXXVI, Latobrigorum XIIII, Rauricorum XXIII, Boiorum XXXII; ex his, qui arma ferre possent, ad milia XCII. Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia CCCLXVIII. Eorum, qui domum redierunt, censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus milium C et X.

30. Bello Helvetiorum confecto totius fere Galliae legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesarem gratulatum convenerunt: Intellegere sese, tametsi pro veteribus Helvetiorum iniuriis populi Romani ab his poenas bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu terrae Galliae quam populi Romani accidisse, propterea quod eo consilio florentissimis rebus domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent imperioque potirentur locumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum iudicassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent. Petierunt, uti sibi concilium

totius Galliae in diem certam indicere idque Caesaris voluntate facere liceret: sese habere quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent. Ea re permissa diem concilio constituerunt et iureiurando, ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt. 31. Eo concilio dimisso idem principes civitatum, qui ante fuerant, ad Caesarem reverterunt petieruntque, uti sibi secreto de sua omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret. Ea re impetrata sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes proiecerunt: Non minus se id contendere et laborare, ne ea, quae dixissent, enuntiarentur, quam uti ea, quae vellent, impetrarent, propterea quod, si enuntiatum esset, summum in cruciatum se venturos viderent. Locutus est pro his Divitiacus Aeduus: Galliae totius factiones esse duas: harum alterius principatum tenere Aeduos, alterius Arvernos. Hi cum tanto opere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse, uti ab Arvernis Sequanisque Germani mercede arcesserentur. Horum primo circiter milia xv Rhenum transisse: posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, traductos plures: nunc esse in Gallia ad centum et xx milium numerum. Cum his Aeduos eorumque clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua virtute et populi Romani hospitio atque amicitia plurimum ante in Gallia potuissent, coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare nobilissimos civitatis et iureiurando civitatem obstringere, sese neque obsides repetituros neque auxilium a populo Romano imploraturos neque recusaturos, quo minus perpetuo sub illorum dicione atque imperio essent. Unum se esse ex omni civitate Aeduorum, qui adduci non potuerit ut iuraret aut liberos suos obsides

daret. Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse et Romam ad senatum venisse auxilium postulatum, quod solus neque iureiurando neque obsidibus teneretur. Sed peius victoribus Sequanis quam Aeduis victis accidisse, propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, in eorum finibus consedisset tertiamque partem agri Sequani, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere iuberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante Harudum milia hominum XXIIII ad eum venissent, quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent: neque enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum agro, neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa comparandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit Admagetobrigae, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cuiusque liberos poscere et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem eius facta sit. Hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse eius imperia diutius sustinere. Nisi si quid in Caesare populoque Romano sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum, quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo emigrent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Germanis, petant fortunamque, quaecumque accidat, experiantur. Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus, qui apud eum sint, gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesarem vel auctoritate sua atque exercitus vel recenti victoria vel nomine populi Romani deterrere posse, ne maior multitudo Germanorum Rhenum traducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti iniuria posse defendere. 32. Hac oratione ab Divitiaco habita omnes, qui aderant, magno fletu auxilium a Caesare petere *coeperunt. Anima*dvertit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequanos

nihil earum rerum facere, quas ceteri facerent, sed tristes capite demisso terram intueri. Eius rei quae causa esset, miratus ex ipsis quaesiit. Nihil Sequani respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere. Cum ab his saepius quaereret neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, idem Divitiacus Aeduus respondit: Hoc esse miseriorem et graviorem fortunam Sequanorum quam reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri neque auxilium implorare auderent absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent, propterea quod reliquis tamen fugae facultas daretur, Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate eius essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi.

33. His rebus cognitis Caesar Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit pollicitusque est sibi eam rem curae futuram: magnam se habere spem et beneficio suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem iniuriis facturum. Hac oratione habita concilium dimisit. Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur, quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret, imprimis quod Aeduos, fratres consanguineosque saepenumero a senatu appellatos, in servitute atque in dicione videbat Germanorum teneri eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intellegebat; quod in tanto imperio populi Romani turpissimum sibi et rei publicae esse arbitrabatur. Paulatim autem Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem venire populo Romano periculosum videbat, neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat, quin, cum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in provinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent, praesertim cum Sequanos a provincia nostra Rhodanus divideret; quibus rebus quam maturrime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus

tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat, ut ferendus non videretur. 34. Quam ob rem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, uti aliquem locum medium utriusque colloquio deligeret: velle sese de re publica et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit: Si quid ipsi a Caesare opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse; si quid ille se velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere, quas Caesar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno commeatu atque molimento in unum locum contrahere posse. Sibi autem mirum videri, quid in sua Gallia, quam bello vicisset, aut Caesari aut omnino populo Romano negotii esset. 35. His responsis ad Caesarem relatis iterum ad eum Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: Quoniam tanto suo populique Romani beneficio affectus, cum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu appellatus esset, hanc sibi populoque Romano gratiam referret, ut in colloquium venire invitatus gravaretur neque de communi re dicendum sibi et cognoscendum putaret, haec esse, quae ab eo postularet: primum, ne quam multitudinem hominum amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam traduceret; deinde obsides, quos haberet ab Aeduis, redderet Sequanisque permitteret, ut, quos illi haberent, voluntate eius reddere illis liceret; neve Aeduos iniuria lacesseret, neve his sociisque eorum bellum inferret. Si id ita fecisset, sibi populoque Romano perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret, sese, quoniam M. Messala, M. Pisone consulibus senatus censuisset, uti, quicumque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo reipublicae facere posset, Aeduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet, se Aeduorum iniurias non neglecturum. 36. Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: Ius *esse belli, ut, qui* vicissent, eis, quos vicissent, quemadmodum

vellent, imperarent: item populum Romanum victis non ad alterius praescriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium imperare consuesse. Si ipse populo Romano non praescriberet, quemadmodum suo iure uteretur, non oportere sese a populo Romano in suo iure impediri. Aeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam temptassent et armis congressi ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesarem iniuriam facere, qui suo adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret. Aeduis se obsides redditurum non esse, neque eis neque eorum sociis iniuria bellum illaturum, si in eo manerent, quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis penderent; si id non fecissent, longe eis fraternum nomen populi Romani afuturum. Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se Aeduorum iniurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Cum vellet, congrederetur: intellecturum, quid invicti Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIIII tectum non subissent, virtute possent.

37. Haec eodem tempore Caesari mandata referebantur, et legati ab Aeduis et a Treveris veniebant: Aedui questum, quod Harudes, qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent, fines eorum popularentur: sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse; Treveri autem, pagos centum Sueborum ad ripas Rheni consedisse, qui Rhenum transire conarentur; his praeesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres. Quibus rebus Caesar vehementer commotus maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Sueborum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese coniunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque re frumentaria quam celerrime potuit comparata magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit. 38. Cum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei, Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontionem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequanorum, contendere triduique viam a suis finibus profecisse. Id

ne accideret, magno opere sibi praecavendum Caesar existimabat. Namque omnium rerum, quae ad bellum usui erant, summa erat in eo oppido facultas, idque natura loci sic muniebatur, ut magnam ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen Dubis ut circino circumductum paene totum oppidum cingit; reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum mille sexcentorum, qua flumen intermittit, mons continet magna altitudine, ita, ut radices montis ex utraque parte ripae fluminis contingant. Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit et cum oppido coniungit. Huc Caesar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit occupatoque oppido ibi praesidium collocat. 39. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariae commeatusque causa moratur, ex percontatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum et mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant (saepenumero sese cum his congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse), tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum, praefectis reliquisque, qui ex urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti non magnum in re militari usum habebant: quorum alius alia causa illata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat, ut eius voluntate discedere liceret: nonnulli pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent, remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis aut suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Volgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur. Horum vocibus ac timore paulatim etiam ei, qui magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque quique equitatui praeerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos

existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris et magnitudinem silvarum, quae intercederent inter ipsos atque Ariovistum, aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant. Nonnulli etiam Caesari nuntiarant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri iussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem signa laturos. 40. Haec cum animadvertisset, convocato consilio omniumque ordinum ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus vehementer eos incusavit: primum quod aut quam in partem aut quo consilio ducerentur, sibi quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. Ariovistum se consule cupidissime populi Romani amicitiam appetisse; cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum iudicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi, cognitis suis postulatis atque aequitate condicionum perspecta eum neque suam neque populi Romani gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si furore atque amentia impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur? aut cur de sua virtute aut de ipsius diligentia desperarent? Factum eius hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, cum Cimbris et Teutonis a Gaio Mario pulsis non minorem laudem exercitus quam ipse imperator meritus videbatur; factum etiam nuper in Italia servili tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quae a nobis accepissent, sublevarent. Ex quo iudicari posse, quantum haberet in se boni constantia, propterea quod, quos aliquamdiu inermos sine causa timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. Denique hos esse eosdem, quibuscum saepenumero Helvetii congressi non solum in suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non potuerint. Si quos adversum proelium et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos, si quaererent, reperire posse diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset neque sui potestatem

fecisset, desperantes iam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum magis ratione et consilio quam virtute vicisse. Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitus capi posse. Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itineris conferrent, facere arroganter, cum aut de officio imperatoris desperare aut praescribere viderentur. Haec sibi esse curae: frumentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones subministrare, iamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de itinere ipsos brevi tempore iudicaturos. Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri: scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam: suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam. Itaque se, quod in longiorem diem collaturus fuisset, repraesentaturum et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intellegere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium, an timor valeret. Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret, sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram. Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue et propter virtutem confidebat maxime. 41. Hac oratione habita mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est, princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit, quod de se optimum iudicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus egerunt, uti Caesari satisfacerent: se nec umquam dubitasse neque timuisse neque de summa belli suum iudicium, sed imperatoris esse existimavisse. Eorum satisfactione accepta et

itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die, cum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est, Ariovisti copias a nostris milibus passuum quattuor et viginti abesse.

42. Cognito Caesaris adventu Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset, seque id sine periculo facere posse existimare. Non respuit condicionem Caesar iamque eum ad sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, cum id, quod antea petenti denegasset, ultro polliceretur, magnamque in spem veniebat, pro suis tantis populique Romani in eum beneficiis cognitis suis postulatis fore, uti pertinacia desisteret. Dies colloquio dictus est ex eo die quintus. Interim saepe ultro citroque cum legati inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit, ne quem peditem ad colloquium Caesar adduceret: vereri se, ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur: uterque cum equitatu veniret: alia ratione sese non esse venturum. Caesar, quod neque colloquium interposita causa tolli volebat neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatui committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis eo legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. Quod cum fieret, non irridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit: plus, quam pollicitus esset, Caesarem ei facere: pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum, ad equum rescribere.

43. Planities erat magna et in ea tumulus terrenus satis grandis. Hic locus aequo fere spatio ab castris Ariovisti et Caesaris aberat. Eo, ut erat dictum, ad colloquium venerunt. Legionem Caesar, quam equis vexerat, passibus

ducentis ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. Ariovistus, ex equis ut colloquerentur et praeter se denos ut ad colloquium adducerent, postulavit. Ubi eo ventum est, Caesar initio orationis sua senatusque in eum beneficia commemoravit, quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissime missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat; illum, cum neque aditum neque causam postulandi iustam haberet beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac senatus ea praemia consecutum. Docebat etiam, quam veteres quamque iustae causae necessitudinis ipsis cum Aeduis intercederent, quae senatusconsulta quotiens quamque honorifica in eos facta essent, ut omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Aedui tenuissent, prius etiam, quam nostram amicitiam appetissent. Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse: quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romani attulissent, id eis eripi quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem, quae legatis in mandatis dederat, ne aut Aeduis aut eorum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet; si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur. 44. Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: Transisse Rhenum sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse: sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere iure belli, quod victores victis imponere consuerint. Non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse: omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes *copias a se uno* proelio pulsas ac superatas esse. Si

iterum experiri velint, se iterum paratum esse decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse de stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id tempus pependerint. Amicitiam populi Romani sibi ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento esse oportere, idque se ea spe petisse. Si per populum Romanum stipendium remittatur et dediticii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romani amicitiam, quam appetierit. Quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam traducat, id se sui muniendi, non Galliae impugnandae causa facere: eius rei testimonium esse, quod nisi rogatus non venerit, et quod bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit. Se prius in Galliam venisse quam populum Romanum. Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae provinciae finibus egressum. Quid sibi vellet, cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, qui in suo iure se interpellaremus. Quod fratres Aeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret neque bello Allobrogum proximo Aeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse neque ipsos in his contentionibus, quas Aedui secum et cum Sequanis habuissent, auxilio populi Romani usos esse. Debere se suspicari simulata Caesarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico, sed hoste habiturum. Quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum: id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte redimere posset. Quod si discessisset et liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum et quaecumque bella geri vellet,

sine ullo eius labore et periculo confecturum. 45. Multa ab Caesare in eam sententiam dicta sunt, quare negotio desistere non posset; neque suam neque populi Romani consuetudinem pati, uti optime merentes socios desereret, neque se iudicare, Galliam potius esse Ariovisti quam populi Romani. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos ab Q. Fabio Maximo, quibus populus Romanus ignovisset neque in provinciam redegisset neque stipendium imposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romani iustissimum esse in Gallia imperium; si iudicium senatus observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset. 46. Dum haec in colloquio geruntur, Caesari nuntiatum est, equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere et ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros conicere. Caesar loquendi finem facit seque ad suos recepit suisque imperavit, ne quod omnino telum in hostes reicerent. Nam etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat, ut pulsis hostibus dici posset eos ab se per fidem in colloquio circumventos. Posteaquam in volgus militum elatum est, qua arrogantia in colloquio Ariovistus usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, impetumque in nostros eius equites fecissent, eaque res colloquium ut diremisset, multo maior alacritas studiumque pugnandi maius exercitui iniectum est.

47. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesarem legatos mittit: Velle se de his rebus, quae inter eos agi coeptae neque perfectae essent, agere cum eo: uti aut iterum colloquio diem constitueret aut, si id minus vellet, e suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret. Colloquendi Caesari causa visa non est, et eo magis, quod pridie eius diei Germani retineri non poterant, quin in nostros tela conicerent. Legatum *e suis sese magno* cum periculo ad eum missurum et

hominibus feris obiecturum existimabat. Commodissimum visum est Gaium Valerium Procillum, C. Valeri Caburi filium, summa virtute et humanitate adulescentem, cuius pater a Gaio Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat, et propter fidem et propter linguae Gallicae scientiam, qua multa iam Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, ad eum mittere et Marcum Metium, qui hospitio Ariovisti utebatur. His mandavit, ut, quae diceret Ariovistus, cognoscerent et ad se referrent. Quos cum apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente conclamavit: quid ad se venirent? an speculandi causa? Conantis dicere prohibuit et in catenas coniecit. 48. Eodem die castra promovit et milibus passuum sex a Caesaris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie eius diei praeter castra Caesaris suas copias traduxit et milibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit, eo consilio, uti frumento commeatuque, qui ex Sequanis et Aeduis supportaretur, Caesarem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos quinque Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit, equestri proelio cotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae, quo se Germani exercuerant. Equitum milia erant sex, totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni copia singuli singulos suae salutis causa delegerant: cum his in proeliis versabantur. Ad eos se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant, si qui graviore vulnere accepto equo deciderat, circumsistebant; si quo erat longius prodeundum aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut iubis equorum sublevati cursum adaequarent. 49. Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in

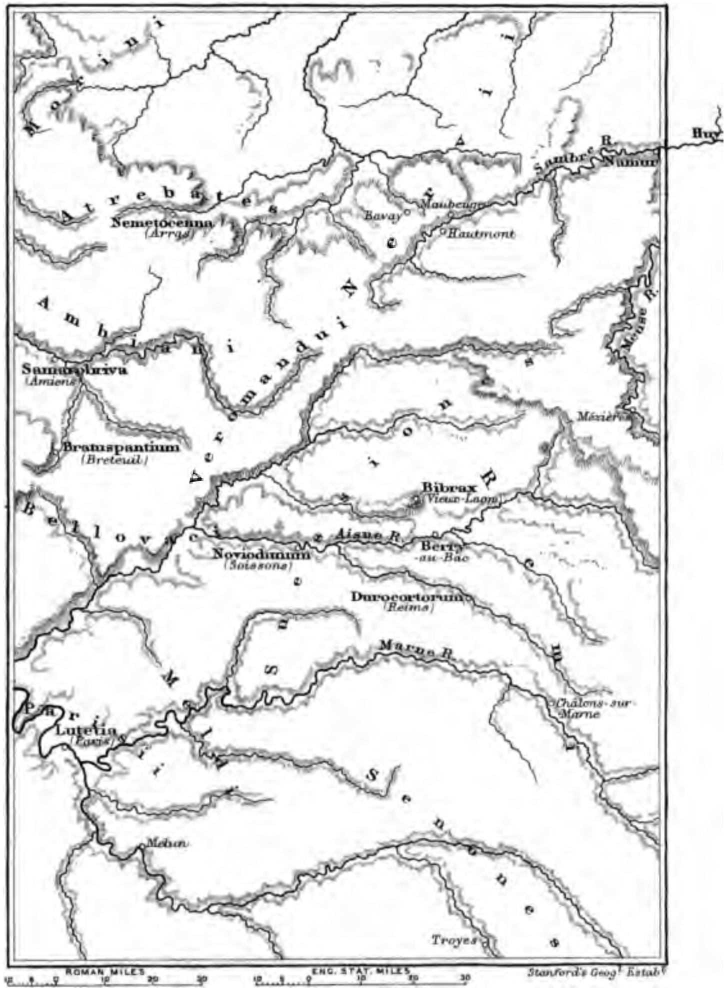
loco Germani consederant, circiter passus sexcentos ab eis, castris idoneum locum delegit acieque triplici instructa ad eum locum venit. Primam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire iussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus sexcentos, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter hominum numero sedecim milia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit, quae copiae nostros perterrerent et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo secius Caesar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem propulsare, tertiam opus perficere iussit. Munitis castris duas ibi legiones reliquit et partem auxiliorum, quattuor reliquas in castra maiora reduxit.

50. Proximo die instituto suo Caesar e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit paulumque a maioribus castris progressus aciem instruxit, hostibus pugnandi potestatem fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum, quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit. Acriter utrimque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus multis et illatis et acceptis vulneribus in castra reduxit. Cum ex captivis quaereret Caesar, quam ob rem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matresfamiliae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset, necne; eas ita dicere: non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent. 51. Postridie eius diei Caesar praesidium utrisque castris, quod satis esse visum est, reliquit, omnis alarios in conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit, quod minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur; ipse triplici instructa acie usque ad castra hostium accessit. Tum demum necessario Germani suas *copias castris* eduxerunt generatimque constituerunt paribus

intervallis, Harudes, Marcomanos, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusios, Suebos, omnemque aciem suam redis et carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur. Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae in proelium proficiscentes passis manibus flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent. 52. Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaestorem praefecit, ut eos testes suae quisque virtutis haberet; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animadverterat, proelium commisit. Ita nostri acriter in hostes signo dato impetum fecerunt, itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt, ut spatium pila in hostes coniciendi non daretur. Reiectis pilis comminus gladiis pugnatum est. At Germani celeriter ex consuetudine sua phalange facta impetus gladiorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri milites, qui in phalangas insilirent et scuta manibus revellerent et desuper vulnerarent. Cum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. Id cum animadvertisset Publius Crassus adulescens, qui equitatui praeerat, quod expeditior erat quam ei, qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit. 53. Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum milia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinque pervenerunt. Ibi perpauci aut viribus confisi tranare contenderunt aut lintribus inventis sibi salutem repererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus ea profugit: reliquos omnes equitatu consecuti nostri interfecerunt. Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueba natione, quam domo secum duxerat, altera Norica, regis Voccionis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat a fratre missam: utraeque in ea fuga perierunt. Duae filiae harum,

altera occisa, altera capta est. Gaius Valerius Procillus, cum a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesarem hostes equitatu persequentem incidit. Quae quidem res Caesari non minorem quam ipsa victoria voluptatem attulit, quod hominem honestissimum provinciae Galliae, suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hostium sibi restitutum videbat, neque eius calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna deminuerat. Is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse incolumem. Item Marcus Metius repertus et ad eum reductus est. 54. Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato Suebi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt; quos Ubii qui proximi Rhenum incolunt, perterritos insecuti magnum ex his numerum occiderunt. Caesar una aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis maturius paulo, quam tempus anni postulabat, in hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit; hibernis Labienum praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

II. CAMPAIGN OF 57.



LIBER SECUNDUS.

1. Cum esset Caesar in citeriore Gallia, ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores afferebantur, litterisque item Labieni certior fiebat omnes Belgas, quam tertiam esse Galliae partem dixeramus, contra populum Romanum coniurare obsidesque inter se dare. Coniurandi has esse causas: primum, quod vererentur, ne omni pacata Gallia ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur; deinde, quod ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur, partim qui, ut Germanos diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita populi Romani exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Gallia moleste ferebant, partim qui mobilitate et levitate animi novis imperiis studebant, ab nonnullis etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque eis, qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, volgo regna occupabantur, qui minus facile eam rem imperio nostro consequi poterant. 2. His nuntiis litterisque commotus Caesar duas legiones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit et inita aestate, in interiorem Galliam qui deduceret, Quintum Pedium legatum misit. Ipse, cum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet, ad exercitum venit. Dat negotium Senonibus reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea, quae apud eos gerantur, cognoscant seque de his rebus certiorem faciant. Hi constanter omnes nuntiaverunt manus cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. Tum vero dubitandum non existimavit, quin ad eos proficisceretur. Re frumentaria comparata castra movet diebusque circiter

quindecim ad fines Belgarum pervenit. 3. Eo cum de improviso celeriusque omni opinione venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos Iccium et Andecumborium, primos civitatis, miserunt, qui dicerent se suaque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem populi Romani permittere, neque se cum Belgis reliquis consensisse neque contra populum Romanum coniurasse, paratosque esse et obsides dare et imperata facere et oppidis recipere et frumento ceterisque rebus iuvare; reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse, Germanosque, qui cis Rhenum incolant, sese cum his coniunxisse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem, ut ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui eodem iure et isdem legibus utantur, unum imperium unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrere potuerint, quin cum his consentirent.

4. Cum ab his quaereret, quae civitates quantaeque in armis essent et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis Rhenumque antiquitus traductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse solosque esse, qui patrum nostrorum memoria omni Gallia vexata Teutonos Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint; qua ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent. De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata Remi dicebant, propterea quod propinquitatibus affinitatibusque coniuncti, quantam quisque multitudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus sit, cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum numero valere; hos posse conficere armata milia centum, pollicitos ex eo numero electa sexaginta, totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessiones suos esse finitimos; *fines latissimos* feracissimosque agros possidere. Apud

eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit: nunc esse regem Galbam: ad hunc propter iustitiam prudentiamque summam totius belli omnium voluntate deferri; oppida habere numero XII, polliceri milia armata quinquaginta; totidem Nervios, qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur longissimeque absint; XV milia Atrebates: Ambianos X milia, Morinos XXV milia: Menapios VII milia, Caletos X milia, Veliocasses et Viromanduos totidem, Aduatucos XVIIII milia; Condrusos, Eburones, Caeroesos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad XL milia.

5. Caesar Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione prosecutus omnem senatum ad se convenire principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci iussit. Quae omnia ab his diligenter ad diem facta sunt. Ipse Divitiacum Aeduum magno opere cohortatus docet, quanto opere rei publicae communisque salutis intersit manus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore confligendum sit. Id fieri posse, si suas copias Aedui in fines Bellovacorum introduxerint et eorum agros populari coeperint. His mandatis eum ab se dimittit. Postquam omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum coactas ad se venire vidit neque iam longe abesse ab eis, quos miserat, exploratoribus et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam, quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum traducere maturavit atque ibi castra posuit. Quae res et latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat et, post eum quae essent, tuta ab hostibus reddebat et, commeatus ab Remis reliquisque civitatibus ut sine periculo ad eum portari possent, efficiebat. In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi praesidium ponit et in altera parte fluminis Quintum Titurium Sabinum legatum

cum sex cohortibus relinquit; castra in altitudinem pedum duodecim vallo fossaque duodeviginti pedum munire iubet.

6. Ab his castris oppidum Remorum nomine Bibrax aberat milia passuum VIII. Id ex itinere magno impetu Belgae oppugnare coeperunt. Aegre eo die sustentatum est. Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio est haec. Ubi circumiecta multitudine hominum totis moenibus undique in murum lapides iaci coepti sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est, testudine facta portas succendunt murumque subruunt. Quod tum facile fiebat. Nam cum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conicerent, in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli. Cum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius Remus, summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido praefuerat, unus ex eis, qui legati de pace ad Caesarem venerant, nuntium ad eum mittit, nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse. 7. Eo de media nocte Caesar isdem ducibus usus, qui nuntii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas et Cretas sagittarios et funditores Baleares subsidio oppidanis mittit; quorum adventu et Remis cum spe defensionis studium propugnandi accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes potiundi oppidi discessit. Itaque paulisper apud oppidum morati agrosque Remorum depopulati omnibus vicis aedificiisque, quos adire potuerant, incensis ad castra Caesaris omnibus copiis contenderunt et ab milibus passuum minus II castra posuerunt; quae castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius milibus passuum VIII in latitudinem patebant. 8. Caesar primo et propter multitudinem hostium et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis proelio supersedere statuit, cotidie tamen equestribus proeliis, quid hostis virtute posset et quid nostri auderent, periclitabatur. Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris *ad aciem* instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo,

quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planitie editus tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat, quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utraque parte lateris deiectus habebat et in fronte leniter fastigatus paulatim ad planitiem redibat, ab utroque latere eius collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter passuum CD et ad extremas fossas castella constituit ibique tormenta collocavit, ne, cum aciem instruxisset, hostes, quod tantum multitudine poterant, ab lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent. Hoc facto duabus legionibus, quas proxime conscripserat, in castris relictis, ut, si quo opus esset, subsidio duci possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris in acie constituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castris eductas instruxerant. 9. Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent, hostes exspectabant; nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret, ut impeditos aggrederentur, parati in armis erant. Interim proelio equestri inter duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutri transeundi initium faciunt, secundiore equitum proelio nostris Caesar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes protinus ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contenderunt, quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. Ibi vadis repertis partem suarum copiarum traducere conati sunt, eo consilio, ut, si possent, castellum, cui praeerat Quintus Titurius legatus, expugnarent pontemque interscinderent; si minus potuissent, agros Remorum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant, commeatuque nostros prohiberent. 10. Caesar certior factus ab Titurio omnem equitatum et levis armaturae Numidas, funditores sagittariosque pontem traducit atque ad eos contendit. Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine aggressi magnum eorum numerum occiderunt: per eorum corpora reliquos audacis-

sime transire conantes multitudine telorum repulerunt; primos, qui transierant, equitatu circumventos interfecerunt. Hostes ubi et de expugnando oppido et de flumine transeundo spem se fefellisse intellexerunt neque nostros in locum iniquiorem progredi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque ipsos res frumentaria deficere coepit, concilio convocato constituerunt optimum esse, domum suam quemque reverti et, quorum in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad eos defendendos undique convenirent, ut potius in suis quam in alienis finibus decertarent et domesticis copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. Ad eam sententiam cum reliquis causis haec quoque ratio eos deduxit, quod Divitiacum atque Aeduos finibus Bellovacorum appropinquare cognoverant. His persuaderi, ut diutius morarentur neque suis auxilium ferrent, non poterat. 11. Ea re constituta secunda vigilia magno cum strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi nullo certo ordine neque imperio, cum sibi quisque primum itineris locum peteret et domum pervenire properaret, fecerunt, ut consimilis fugae profectio videretur. Hac re statim Caesar per speculatores cognita insidias veritus, quod, qua de causa discederent, nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque castris continuit. Prima luce confirmata re ab exploratoribus omnem equitatum, qui novissimum agmen moraretur, praemisit. His Quintum Pedium et Lucium Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praefecit. Titum Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus subsequi iussit. Hi novissimos adorti et multa milia passuum prosecuti magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium conciderunt, cum ab extremo agmine, ad quos ventum erat, consisterent fortiterque impetum nostrorum militum sustinerent, priores, quod abesse a periculo viderentur neque ulla necessitate neque imperio continerentur, exaudito clamore perturbatis ordinibus omnes in fuga sibi praesidium pone-

rent. Ita sine ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem nostri interfecerunt, quantum fuit diei spatium, sub occasumque solis destiterunt seque in castra, ut erat imperatum, receperunt.

12. Postridie eius diei Caesar, priusquam se hostes ex terrore ac fuga reciperent, in fines Suessionum, qui proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit et magno itinere confecto ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit. Id ex itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat, propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem paucis defendentibus expugnare non potuit. Castris munitis vineas agere quaeque ad oppugnandum usui erant comparare coepit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. Celeriter vineis ad oppidum actis, aggere iacto turribusque constitutis magnitudine operum, quae neque viderant ante Galli neque audierant, et celeritate Romanorum permoti legatos ad Caesarem de deditione mittunt et petentibus Remis, ut conservarentur, impetrant. 13. Caesar obsidibus acceptis primis civitatis atque ipsius Galbae regis duobus filiis armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis in deditionem Suessiones accepit exercitumque in Bellovacos ducit. Qui cum se suaque omnia in oppidum Bratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter milia passuum quinque abesset, omnes maiores natu ex oppido egressi manus ad Caesarem tendere et voce significare coeperunt, sese in eius fidem ac potestatem venire neque contra populum Romanum armis contendere. Item, cum ad oppidum accessisset castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex muro passis manibus suo more pacem ab Romanis petierunt. 14. Pro his Divitiacus (nam post discessum Belgarum dimissis Aeduorum copiis ad eum reverterat) facit verba: Bellovacos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia civitatis Aeduae fuisse; impulsos

ab suis principibus, qui dicerent Aeduos ab Caesare in servitutem redactos omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Aeduis defecisse et populo Romano bellum intulisse. Qui eius consilii principes fuissent, quod intellegerent, quantam calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse. Petere non solum Bellovacos, sed etiam pro his Aeduos, ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. Quod si fecerit, Aeduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum; quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint. 15. Caesar honoris Diviciaci atque Aeduorum causa sese eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum dixit; quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate atque hominum multitudine praestabat, sexcentos obsides poposcit. His traditis omnibusque armis ex oppido collatis ab eo loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit, qui se suaque omnia sine mora dediderunt. Eorum fines Nervii attingebant: quorum de natura moribusque Caesar cum quaereret, sic reperiebat: Nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus; nihil pati vini reliquarumque rerum ad luxuriam pertinentium inferri, quod eis rebus relanguescere animos eorum et remitti virtutem existimarent: esse homines feros magnaeque virtutis: increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas, qui se populo Romano dedidissent patriamque virtutem proiecissent; confirmare sese neque legatos missuros neque ullam condicionem pacis accepturos. 16. Cum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat ex captivis Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius milia passuum decem abesse: trans id flumen omnes Nervios consedisse adventumque ibi Romanorum exspectare una cum Atrebatibus et Viromanduis, finitimis suis (nam his utrisque persuaserant, uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur); exspectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum copias atque esse in itinere: mulieres *quique per aetatem* ad pugnam inutiles viderentur in eum

locum coniecisse, quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset. 17. His rebus cognitis exploratores centurionesque praemittit, qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Cum ex dediticiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures Caesarem secuti una iter facerent, quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt atque eis demonstrarunt inter singulas legiones impedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere, neque esse quicquam negotii, cum prima legio in castra venisset, reliquaeque legiones magnum spatium abessent, hanc sub sarcinis adoriri; qua pulsa impedimentisque direptis futurum, ut reliquae contra consistere non auderent. Adiuvabat etiam eorum consilium, qui rem deferebant, quod Nervii antiquitus, cum equitatu nihil possent (neque enim ad hoc tempus ei rei student, sed, quicquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis), quo facilius finitimorum equitatum, si praedandi causa ad eos venissent, impedirent, teneris arboribus incisis atque inflexis crebris in latitudinem ramis enatis et rubis sentibusque interiectis effecerant, ut instar muri hae sepes munimenta praeberent, quo non modo non intrari, sed ne perspici quidem posset. His rebus cum iter agminis nostri impediretur, non omittendum sibi consilium Nervii existimaverunt. 18. Loci natura erat haec, quem locum nostri castris delegerant. Collis ab summo aequaliter declivis ad flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat. Ab eo flumine pari acclivitate collis nascebatur adversus huic et contrarius, passus circiter ducentos infimus apertus, ab superiore parte silvestris, ut non facile introrsus perspici posset. Intra eas silvas hostes in occulto sese continebant; in aperto loco secundum flumen paucae stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo pedum circiter trium. 19. Caesar equitatu praemisso subsequebatur omnibus

copiis; sed ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat ac Belgae ad Nervios detulerant. Nam quod hosti appropinquabat, consuetudine sua Caesar sex legiones expeditas ducebat; post eas totius exercitus impedimenta collocarat; inde duae legiones, quae proxume conscriptae erant, totum agmen claudebant praesidioque impedimentis erant. Equites nostri cum funditoribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi cum hostium equitatu proelium commiserunt. Cum se illi identidem in silvas ad suos reciperent ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius, quam quem ad finem porrecta loca aperta pertinebant, cedentes insequi auderent, interim legiones sex, quae primae venerant, opere dimenso castra munire coeperunt. Ubi prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab eis, qui in silvas abditi latebant, visa sunt, quod tempus inter eos committendi proelii convenerat, ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant atque ipsi sese confirmaverant, subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt. His facile pulsis ac proturbatis incredibili celeritate ad flumen decucurrerunt, ut paene uno tempore et ad silvas et in flumine et iam in manibus nostris hostes viderentur. Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad nostra castra atque eos, qui in opere occupati erant, contenderunt. 20. Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurri oporteret, signum tuba dandum, ab opere revocandi milites, qui paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant, arcessendi, acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum dandum. Quarum rerum magnam partem temporis brevitas et successus hostium impediebat. His difficultatibus duae res erant subsidio, scientia atque usus militum, quod superioribus proeliis exercitati, quid fieri oporteret, non minus commode ipsi *sibi praescribere,* quam ab aliis doceri poterant, et quod

ab opere singulisque legionibus singulos legatos Caesar discedere nisi munitis castris vetuerat. Hi propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium nihil iam Caesaris imperium exspectabant, sed per se, quae videbantur, administrabant. 21. Caesar necessariis rebus imperatis ad cohortandos milites, quam in partem fors obtulit, decucurrit et ad legionem decimam devenit. Milites non longiore oratione cohortatus, quam uti suae pristinae virtutis memoriam retinerent neu perturbarentur animo hostiumque impetum fortiter sustinerent, quod non longius hostes aberant, quam quo telum adigi posset, proelii committendi signum dedit. Atque in alteram partem item cohortandi causa profectus pugnantibus occurrit. Temporis tanta fuit exiguitas hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum animus, ut non modo ad insignia accommodanda, sed etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque tegimenta detrudenda tempus defuerit. Quam quisque ab opere in partem casu devenit quaeque prima signa conspexit, ad haec constitit, ne in quaerendis suis pugnandi tempus dimitteret. 22. Instructo exercitu, magis ut loci natura deiectusque collis et necessitas temporis, quam ut rei militaris ratio atque ordo postulabat, cum diversae legiones aliae alia in parte hostibus resisterent, sepibusque densissimis, ut ante demonstravimus, interiectis prospectus impediretur, neque certa subsidia collocari neque, quid in quaque parte opus esset, provideri neque ab uno omnia imperia administrari poterant. Itaque in tanta rerum iniquitate fortunae quoque eventus varii sequebantur. 23. Legionis nonae et decimae milites, ut in sinistra parte acie constiterant, pilis emissis cursu ac lassitudine exanimatos vulneribusque confectos Atrebates (nam his ea pars obvenerat) celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen compulerunt et transire conantes insecuti gladiis magnam partem eorum impeditam interfecerunt. Ipsi transire flumen non dubitaverunt et in

locum iniquum progressi rursus resistentes hostes redintegrato proelio in fugam coniecerunt. Item alia in parte diversae duae legiones, undecima et octava, profligatis Viromanduis, quibuscum erant congressi, ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis proeliabantur. At totis fere a fronte et ab sinistra parte nudatis castris, cum in dextro cornu legio duodecima et non magno ab ea intervallo septima constitisset, omnes Nervii confertissimo agmine duce Boduognato, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum locum contenderunt; quorum pars aperto latere legiones circumvenire, pars summum castrorum locum petere coepit. 24. Eodem tempore equites nostri levisque armaturae pedites, qui cum eis una fuerant, quos primo hostium impetu pulsos dixeram, cum se in castra reciperent, adversis hostibus occurrebant ac rursus aliam in partem fugam petebant, et calones, qui ab decumana porta ac summo iugo collis nostros victores flumen transisse conspexerant, praedandi causa egressi, cum respexissent et hostes in nostris castris versari vidissent, praecipites fugae sese mandabant. Simul eorum, qui cum impedimentis veniebant, clamor fremitusque oriebatur, aliique aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur. Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treveri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui auxilii causa ab civitate ad Caesarem missi venerant, cum multitudine hostium castra compleri nostra, legiones premi et paene circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numidas diversos dissipatosque in omnes partes fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus domum contenderunt; Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos civitati renuntiaverunt. 25. Caesar ab decimae legionis cohortatione ad dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri signisque in unum locum collatis duodecimae legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento

vidit, quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his primipilo P. Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto, ut iam se sustinere non posset, reliquos esse tardiores et nonnullos ab novissimis deserto loco proelio excedere ac tela vitare, hostes neque a fronte ex inferiore loco subeuntes intermittere et ab utroque latere instare et rem esse in angusto vidit neque ullum esse subsidium, quod submitti posset, scuto ab novissimis militi detracto, quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primam aciem processit centurionibusque nominatim appellatis reliquos cohortatus milites signa inferre et manipulos laxare iussit, quo facilius gladiis uti possent. Cuius adventu spe illata militibus ac redintegrato animo, cum pro se quisque in conspectu imperatoris etiam in extremis suis rebus operam navare cuperet, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est. 26. Caesar cum septimam legionem, quae iuxta constiterat, item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit, ut paulatim sese legiones coniungerent et conversa signa in hostes inferrent. Quo facto cum alius alii subsidium ferret, neque timerent, ne aversi ab hoste circumvenirentur, audacius resistere ac fortius pugnare coeperunt. Interim milites legionum duarum, quae in novissimo agmine praesidio impedimentis fuerant, proelio nuntiato cursu incitato in summo colle ab hostibus conspiciebantur, et Titus Labienus castris hostium potitus et ex loco superiore, quae res in nostris castris gererentur, conspicatus decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit. Qui cum ex equitum et calonum fuga, quo in loco res esset, quantoque in periculo et castra et legiones et imperator versaretur, cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt. 27. Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio est facta, ut nostri etiam qui

vulneribus confecti procubuissent, scutis innixi proelium redintegrarent. Tum calones perterritos hostes conspicati etiam inermes armatis occurrerunt, equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute delerent, omnibus in locis pugnabant, quo se legionariis militibus praeferrent. At hostes etiam in extrema spe salutis tantam virtutem praestiterunt, ut cum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi iacentibus insisterent atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent; his deiectis et coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent, ut ex tumulo tela in nostros conicerent et pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequiquam tantae virtutis homines iudicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum; quae facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat. 28. Hoc proelio facto et prope ad internicionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto maiores natu, quos ūna cum pueris mulieribusque in aestuaria ac paludes coniectos dixeramus, hac pugna nuntiata, cum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium, qui supererant, consensu legatos ad Caesarem miserunt seque ei dediderunt et in commemoranda civitatis calamitate ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum milibus LX vix ad quingentos, qui arma ferre possent, sese redactos esse dixerunt. Quos Caesar, ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit suisque finibus atque oppidis uti iussit et finitimis imperavit, ut ab iniuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.

29. Aduatuci, de quibus supra scripsimus, cum omnibus copiis auxilio Nerviis venirent, hac pugna nuntiata ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis sua omnia in unum oppidum egregie natura munitum contulerunt. Quod cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter

acclivis aditus in latitudinem non amplius CC pedum relinquebatur; quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant: tum magni ponderis saxa et praeacutas trabes in muro collocabant. Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati, qui, cum iter in provinciam nostram atque Italiam facerent, eis impedimentis, quae secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis custodiam ex suis ac praesidium sex milia hominum una reliquerunt. Hi post eorum obitum multos annos a finitimis exagitati, cum alias bellum inferrent, alias illatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt. 30. Ac primo adventu exercitus nostri crebras ex oppido excursiones faciebant parvulisque proeliis cum nostris contendebant; postea vallo pedum in circuitu XV milium crebrisque castellis circummuniti oppido sese continebant. Ubi vineis actis aggere exstructo turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum irridere ex muro atque increpitare vocibus, quod tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio instrueretur: quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus praesertim homines tantulae staturae (nam plerumque omnibus Gallis prae magnitudine corporum suorum brevitas nostra contemptui est) tanti oneris turrim in muro se posse collocare confiderent? 31. Ubi vero moveri et appropinquare moenibus viderunt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti legatos ad Caesarem de pace miserunt, qui ad hunc modum locuti: Non existimare Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui tantae altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere possent, se suaque omnia eorum potestati permittere dixerunt. Unum petere ac deprecari: si forte pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset Aduatucos esse conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret. Sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos ac suae virtuti invidere; a quibus se defendere traditis armis non possent. Sibi

praestare, si in eum casum deducerentur, quamvis fortunam a populo Romano pati, quam ab his per cruciatum interfici, inter quos dominari consuessent. 32. Ad haec Caesar respondit: Se magis consuetudine sua quam merito eorum civitatem conservaturum, si prius, quam murum aries attigisset, se dedidissent: sed deditionis nullam esse condicionem nisi armis traditis. Se id, quod in Nerviis fecisset, facturum finitimisque imperaturum, ne quam dediticiis populi Romani iniuriam inferrent. Re nuntiata ad suos, quae imperarentur, facere dixerunt. Armorum magna multitudine de muro in fossam, quae erat ante oppidum, iacta, sic ut prope summam muri aggerisque altitudinem acervi armorum adaequarent, et tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est, celata atque in oppido retenta portis patefactis eo die pace sunt usi. 33. Sub vesperum Caesar portas claudi militesque ex oppido exire iussit, ne quam noctu oppidani ab militibus iniuriam acciperent. Illi ante inito, ut intellectum est, consilio, quod deditione facta nostros praesidia deducturos aut denique indiligentius servaturos crediderant, partim cum his, quae retinuerant et celaverant, armis, partim scutis ex cortice factis aut viminibus intextis, quae subito, ut temporis exiguitas postulabat, pellibus induxerant, tertia vigilia, qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus videbatur, omnibus copiis repentino ex oppido eruptionem fecerunt. Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta ex proximis castellis eo concursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter est, ut a viris fortibus in extrema spe salutis iniquo loco contra eos, qui ex vallo turribusque tela iacerent, pugnari debuit, cum in una virtute omnis spes salutis consisteret. Occisis ad hominum milibus quattuor reliqui in oppidum reiecti sunt. Postridie eius diei refractis portis, *cum* iam defenderet nemo, atque intromissis militibus

nostris sectionem eius oppidi universam Caesar vendidit. Ab eis, qui emerant, capitum numerus ad eum relatus est milium quinquaginta trium.

34. Eodem tempore a Publio Crasso, quem cum legione una miserat ad Venetos, Venellos, Osismos, Curiosolitas, Esuvios, Aulercos, Redones, quae sunt maritumae civitates Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est omnes eas civitates in dicionem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas.

35. His rebus gestis omni Gallia pacata tanta huius belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est, uti ab eis nationibus, quae trans Rhenum incolerent, mitterentur legati ad Caesarem, qui se obsides daturas, imperata facturas pollicerentur. Quas legationes Caesar, quod in Italiam Illyricumque properabat, inita proxima aestate ad se reverti iussit. Ipse in Carnutes, Andes, Turones, quaeque civitates propinquae his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hibernacula deductis in Italiam profectus est. Ob easque res ex litteris Caesaris dierum quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

NOTES.

BOOK I.

CHAP. 1.

p. 1. 1 *Gallia omnis*] 'Gaul as a whole', that is, the country from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, more extensive than the modern France: the *provincia* is of course excluded.

2 *Belgae*] the word is said to mean 'plunderers'. We learn from II. 4 that most of the Belgae were of Germanic origin. They must be regarded as at basis a Gallic people, but with much admixture of foreign elements: the Belgian, says M. Desjardins, is the German grafted on the Gaul: 'Belgium has always been nothing more than a thoroughfare ('un pays de passage') and always will be so'.

Aquitani] the Aquitani belonged to the Iberian race; they are said by Strabo to have differed in language from the Kelts and Belgae, and to have resembled the Iberi in appearance and in language. The political division of Aquitania organised by Augustus, comprising the whole of Gaul south of the Loire and west of the Province, must be distinguished from the ethnographic Aquitania of which Caesar is here speaking; the boundaries of the latter are the Ocean, the Garonne in its upper course, M. Corbières and the Pyrenees: the Bituriges Vibisci situated in the angle between the Garonne and the Ocean, having Burdigala (Bourdeaux) for their chief town, were not Aquitani. It has been supposed that the prae-Keltic inhabitants of Britain were of Iberian origin, and so akin to the Aquitani and to the modern Basques. Cf. Rhys, Lectures on Welsh Philology, Lect. IV.

3 *Celtae*] the terms Galli, Galatae, Celtae are used indifferently by the ancient writers. In ordinary usage the Gauls are treated as a subdivision of the great Keltic family. The Gauls differed from the Belgae in their physical characteristics, the latter being tall, with light hair and eyes and elongated skull, while the Galli were shorter, with hair and eyes of a deeper hue and brachycephalous skull.

7 *provinciae*] the exact date of the constitution of the province of Gallia Braccata afterwards called Narbonensis from the town of Narbo Martius (founded by L. Licinius Crassus, B.C. 118) is uncertain. Zumpt

attributes its organisation to the year 100, Mommsen to 120 or 121. The Roman conquests on this side of the Alps were begun by the Consul Q. Opimius, who was summoned to aid the Massilians against the Ligurians in 154. The boundaries of the province when fully constituted were the Alps on the east, the Cévennes and the upper course of the Garonne on the west, the Rhone from Geneva to Vienne on the north, and the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees on the south.

8 *ad eff. an. pertinent*] 'tend to enervate the mind'.

11 *Helvetii*] a Keltic people whose limits corresponded nearly to those of modern Switzerland: cf. note on 2.

13 *cum...gerunt*] *cum* is strictly temporal: 'when they are either keeping them out of their own territory or themselves waging war in theirs'. If *cum* were causal *prohibeant* and *gerant* would be used.

14 *eorum*] of the Gauls generally.

17 *ab Sequanis*] 'on the side of the Sequani'. For this use of *ab*, cf. Roby, § 1813.

Sequanis] the domain occupied by the Sequani extended from the Saône and the Rhone as far as Strasbourg.

18 *vergit ad septentriones*] Caesar describes its position in reference to the Roman province of Narbonne. 'It lies in a northerly direction'. Either the singular *septentrio* or the plural *septentriones* may be used: for the meaning of the word see note on IV. 20.

p. 2. 2 *eam partem*] the gulf of Gascony.

Chap. 2.

5 *Orgetorix*] the name occurs on coins in the forms Orgetirix; compare however the names Dumnorix, Ambiorix, etc.

M. Messala et M. Pupio Pisone coss.] B.C. 61. Kraner remarks that *et* is usually omitted between the names of the two consuls as in 6 and elsewhere.

6 *nobilitatis*] 'the nobles': abstract for concrete.

7 *exirent*] *civitas* though singular is really a noun of multitude and therefore equivalent to a plural; hence the plural *exirent*.

8 *praestarent*] the verb conditioning the oratio obliqua is *dixit* implied in *persuasit*, hence the imperfect *praestarent*, though *praestent* might have been used, the clause *cum...praestent* being made contemporaneous with *esse*.

9 *hoc*] 'for this reason', *quod* 'that'.

10 *una ex parte*] on the north and east, the Rhine flowing northward till it reaches the lake of Constance. It will be seen that Helvetia corresponds approximately to Switzerland, leaving out all or most of the cantons of Valois, Ticino and Grisons.

16 *qua ex parte*] 'in which respect'.

19 *qui...patebant*] 'now they extended'. The clause contains an explanatory statement of the writer and forms no part of the thought of the Helvetii. We do not know in what direction Caesar intends his measurements to be taken: from Fort de l'Écluse on the Rhone to the junction of the Aar and the Rhine is just 180 Roman miles, and from Fort de l'Écluse to Bregenz on the lake of Constance is 230 miles. (Walckenaer ap. Long.)

The reasons assigned by Caesar for this migration of the Helvetii seem inadequate. Cuno (Vorgeschichte Roms; Theil I., die Kelten) pertinently asks how it is that the Helvetii do not appear to have come to any understanding with the Romans, their southern neighbours, before starting, whereas they did enter into negotiations with other neighbouring peoples. He suggests that there may have been some diplomacy on Caesar's part which he thought it desirable to conceal. Certain it is that their evacuation of their home and subsequent destruction left their country an easy and a valuable acquisition to the Romans.

CHAP. 3.

23 *carrorum*] *carrus* is a latinised form of a Keltic word; it is the English 'car', which in Mandeville's Travels is spelt 'carre'. (Prof. Skeat, Etym. Dict. s. v.)

24 *sementes facere*] *sementem facere* is quoted from Cato de re rustica: compare the proverbial expression: *ut sementem feceris ita metes* 'as you sow, so shall you reap'. Cic. de Or. II. 261.

28 *sibi suscepit*] 'took upon himself'. Cf. Cic. p. Cael. 37; Verr. V. 152; Fam. V. 8.

30 *regnum*] by *regnum* must not be understood an absolute or hereditary monarchy. Caesar applies the term loosely sometimes to the usurped authority of some powerful chieftain who was wealthy enough to maintain a large armed retinue, sometimes to a recognised and in a certain sense legitimate headship. Cuno thinks that there may have been a Keltic word 'rex' or 'rix' denoting some kind of authority. The word *principatus* is equally vague; in VII. 4, as Kraner points out, it is distinctly opposed to *regnum* as a lower to a higher grade of power. For more information on the subject the student should consult Desjardins, Géographie, II. 544 sqq., and Cuno, Vorgeschichte Roms, I. 37 sqq.

33 *Dumnorigi*] his name is spelt Dubnorix or Dubnoreix on several coins and medals.

p. 3. 1 *Aeduo*] the Aedui were a powerful Keltic tribe dwelling between the Loire and the Saône. They were on terms of friendship and alliance with the Romans.

2 *ut conaretur persuadet*] *persuadet* being an historical present may have an imperfect in the subordinate final clause; contrast this with 5 *persuadent Rauricis ut proficiscantur*.

4 *perfacile factu*] the supine in *u* is properly the ablative of a noun of the fourth declension, so *perfacile factu* = 'very easy in the doing'.

10 *Galliae potiri*] the only passage in Caesar where *potiri* takes a genitive (Kraner). Possibly *imperio* should be inserted; see appendix.

CHAP. 4.

13 *poenam*] *poenam* is the subject, *damnatum* the object, of *sequi; ut igni cremaretur* is explanatory of *poenam*: 'it was proper that the punishment of being burnt should befall him if condemned'.

14 *causae*] this may be either genitive or dative. See note on *concilio* 30.

15 *familiam*] 'household', 'establishment'.

16 *clientes obaeratosque*] the *clientes* were originally freemen who from the pressure of debt or from other circumstances had surrendered themselves into slavery to the chieftains or nobles (*principes*). 'The words client and debtor are almost synonymous'. Ihne, Hist. I. 110.

17 *ne causam diceret*] 'to avoid standing his trial'.

21 *sibi mortem consciverit*] this is the usual term for suicide.

CHAP. 5.

24 *ut exeant*] this clause is explanatory of *facere*, and the *ut* may be translated 'namely to': 'they attempt to do that which they had determined on, *namely to* quit their territory'. The idiom is of frequent occurrence. Cf. Cic. de lege agr. I. 9 *quod homines sancti non facient, ut pecuniam accipiant.*

25 *oppida*] 'strongholds': *vicos* 'villages'.

28 *domum reditionis*] = *domum redeundi*: *domum* 'homewards' is used after the noun *reditio* as it would be after a verb of motion such as *redire*. This must be distinguished from such instances as *quid me tactiost* in Plautus where *me* is the direct object of the verbal notion implied in the noun *tactio*. Kraner qu. Cic. div. 1 68 *reditum ac domum itionem.*

29 *essent*] for *ut essent* after *comburunt* cf. n. on 3 *ut conaretur persuadet.*

30 *mensum*] the form *mensium* is also used.

domo efferre] *domo* 'from home' is almost adverbial, hence the preposition is not required; cf. *domo exire* 6 and 12, and contrast above *e finibus exire*. Cf. my n. on IV. 14.

31 *Rauricis*] the colonia Rauricorum subsequently founded by Munatius Plancus was at or near Augst on the left bank of the Rhine, east of Basle. The Raurici extended into Alsace. Desjardins shows from the funeral inscription of Munatius Plancus at Gaeta that the spelling Raurici is to be preferred to Rauraci.

Tulingis] the exact position of this tribe has not yet been satisfactorily determined.

Latobrigis] Desjardins places this tribe on the north bank of the Rhine, between Basle and Schaffhausen.

33 *eis*] for this use of the demonstrative in place of the reflexive pronoun cf. n. on 6 *suos fines.*

Boiosque] the Boii occupied no very definite limits at this time; they seem to have been feeling the force of the various influences, so difficult now to determine, which were stirring the vast savage hordes of Europe and impelling them to their incessant and restless wanderings.

p. 4. 1 *Noreiam*] Noreia, now Neumarkt in Carinthia, a little above lat. 47°. It was here that the Cimbri won a victory over Cn. Papirius Carbo, B.C. 113. Mommsen III. 181 (Engl. Trans.).

CHAP. 6.

3 *itinera duo, quibus itineribus*] this redundancy of expression is quite in Caesar's manner and will often be met with again.

4 *Sequanos*] the Sequani were situated between the Rhine where it turns eastward at Basle, the Saône, the Rhone and M. Jura. One of the possible routes into Gaul, Caesar says, lay through their territory, and to enter this the Helvetii would have to pass between the Jura and the Rhone along a defile which reaches its narrowest point at the Fort de l'Écluse, about 13 miles from Geneva, built in the XIVth century to command this entrance into France. No route from Helvetia into Gaul across the Jura seems to have been known, to the Romans at any rate, at this time; at present the Jura may be crossed at several points. It is not quite clear why the Helvetii could not have gone by the Trouée de Belfort.

5 *vix qua singuli*] for the position of *vix* cf. II. 28 *vix ad quingentos*.

9 *Allobrogum*] the Allobroges, or Allobriges as Strabo calls them, occupied a district corresponding roughly to the modern Dauphiné and Savoie. They had been, as Caesar says, 'pacified' in the year 61 B. C. by the praetor C. Pomptinus; cf. Liv. Epit. CIII. *C. Pomptinus praetor Allobrogas qui rebellaverant ad Solonem domuit:* the position of Solon or Solonium is uncertain.

10 *vado transitur*] at present the Rhone is said to be fordable only near the villages of Russin and Cartigny, about 9 miles from Geneva.

13 *bono animo viderentur*] the omission of *esse* is noticeable: 'because they did not seem as yet to be friendly disposed to the Roman people'. The clause is a subordinate one in oratio obliqua, hence the subjunctive *viderentur*.

15 *suos fines*] observe that the reflexive *suos* is used here not of the subjects of the principal verb *existimabant* but of the Allobroges, while *eos* denotes the Helvetii: cf. *eorum* in VII. 1 *priusquam eorum clandestina consilia efferantur* used in reference to the main subject of the sentence. Dräger Hist. Synt. § 29 b quotes a number of similar passages from Caesar.

16 *qua die...is dies*] *dies* is frequently feminine when used in the sense of 'date' or 'appointed time'. Cf. 8; VII. 3; B. C. III. 33, etc.

17 *L. Pisone, A. Gabinio coss.*] 58 B.C. L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus was Caesar's father-in-law. In the previous year, 59 B.C., Caesar then consul had married Piso's daughter Calpurnia, and had given his own daughter Julia to Pompey. Neither Piso nor his colleague A. Gabinius were persons of reputable character if we may trust the invectives of Cicero in his speech for Sestius.

CHAP. 7.

19 *Caesari cum*] the sentence would have been more regular if Caesar had written *Caesar, cum*, etc.: at present the subject of *maturat*, viz. *Caesar*, has to be supplied from the dative *Caesari*. The transposition of *cum* is not uncommon in our author.

21 *ulteriorem*] 'further Gaul', that is, Gaul beyond the Alps as opposed to Gallia cisalpina, the Gallic province on the Italian side.

22 *pervenit*] Plutarch says that he arrived on the eighth day after leaving Rome. It is not known for certain by what route he travelled.

provinciae imperat] *imperare* in the sense 'to order a person to furnish', 'to requisition', takes a dative of the person of whom the demand is made, and an accusative of the person or thing demanded.

30 *nullum*] notice the emphatic position of *nullum* at the end of the sentence.

rogare] sc. *se* which is omitted here and elsewhere in similar sentences. 'that they asked (*se rogare*) to be allowed to do this with his permission'. For *eius voluntate* cf. 30, 35, etc.

31 *L. Cassium*] the Epitomiser of Livy, Epit. LXV., says *L. Cassius consul a Tigurinis Gallis, pago Helvetico, qui a civitate secesserant in finibus Allobrogum* (Mommsen writes *Nitiobrogum*) *cum exercitu caesus est. milites qui ex ea clade superaverant obsidibus datis et dimidia rerum omnium parte ut incolumes dimitterentur cum hostibus pacti sunt.* This was in 107 B.C.: the defeat probably took place in the department of Haute Savoie. Orosius says that Cassius had pursued the Helvetii as far as the Ocean when his army was entrapped, but this is probably a mistake. Valois proposes *usque ad Rhodanum* for *usque Oceanum*. Cf. Desjardins II. 240.

32 *sub iugum missum*] the *iugum* consisted of two spears fixed in the ground and surmounted by a third placed crossways; under this the conquered soldiers were made to walk.

CHAP. 8.

p. 5. 7 *qui influit*] for the rather strange statement that the lake flows into the river, instead of the river into the lake, Kraner qu. VII. 57 *perpetuam paludem quae influeret in Sequanam*. Mommsen remarks that Caesar regards the lacus Lemannus as the source of the Rhone.

9 *milia passuum decem novem*] 19 Roman miles, that is, 27 or 28 kilomètres, is just the distance from the lake to the Pas de l'Écluse in a

straight line. The distance following the bend of the river is, judging from Baron Stoffel's report, 32 kilomètres; hence Desjardins, who corrects Napoleon's error in saying that the distance, following the river line, was 28 kilomètres, errs himself when he says that the distance by the river line is at least one-third more than the distance in a straight line. Napoleon shows that there is no need to suppose the line of fortification to have been continuous from the lake of Geneva to the pass: for some distance the ground on the south bank is too precipitous to require any artificial strengthening; there were only five points where such defensive works were necessary, one opposite the village of Russin, the others at or near the villages of Cartigny, Avully, Chancy and Cologny. It has been conclusively shown by Napoleon and Baron Stoffel that by *murus fossaque* must not be understood a wall in the ordinary sense of the term, flanked by a ditch, but by *murus* Caesar means simply the scarp of a fosse, dug along the steep face of the hill; the scarp of such a ditch would naturally be nearly or quite twice the altitude of the counterscarp. The whole extent which Caesar had to fortify is according to Baron Stoffel 5000 mètres = 3 miles 188 yards: this work might have been accomplished in two or three days.

14 *reverterunt*] *reverti*, not *reversus sum*, is used as the perfect of *revertor*.

16 *ea spe deiecti*] cf. V. 48 *opinione deiectus*: 'foiled of this hope'.

17 *alii vadis*] the sentence would have been more regular if another *alii* had preceded *navibus iunctis*: 'the Helvetii crossed partly (*alii*) by rafts, partly (*alii*) by fording', but Caesar begins by saying that the Helvetii crossed or attempted to cross by means of rafts and then as an afterthought adds that some crossed by fording.

19 *operis munitione*] *munitione* would have done by itself; *operis munitione* serves better to balance *militum concursu*. *telis* is not, I think, to be connected with *militum*.

CHAP. 9.

21 *una per Sequanos via*] '*only* the route through the Sequani'. This is the narrow defile between the Rhone and the Jura, now called the Pas de l'Écluse.

22 *sua sponte*] 'on their own account'. Cf. Cic. Ep. Fam. VII. 2 *magnum quiddam spectavit, nec sua sponte, sed eorum auxilio qui me stante stare non poterant*. Caes. B. G. V. 28.

24 *eo deprecatore*] 'with him to plead their cause', abl. abs. Notice *impetrarent* without an object: 'gain their request'.

32 *Sequani, ne*] *dare obsides* 'give hostages' is equivalent in sense to 'give pledges', and is therefore naturally followed by *ut* or *ne* with subjunctive: tr. 'the Sequani binding themselves not to hinder the march of the Helvetii'.

CHAP. 10.

p. 6. 2 *Santonum*] the Santones dwelt on the coast north of the mouth of the Garonne; the province of Santogne and the town of Saintes on

the Charente receive their name from them. They can scarcely have been within 100 miles of the Tolosates, from whose borders Caesar says *non longe absunt*. The Tolosates dwelt in the neighbourhood of Tolosa, Toulouse. (Addenda.)

7 *T. Labienum*] Labienus was one of Caesar's most able and trusted officers: in the civil war he joined the side of Pompey.

8 *duas legiones*] the xith and xiith.

9 *tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant*] the viith, viiith, and ixth; the legion which he already had with him in Gaul (cf. 7) was the xth.

Aquileiam] Aquilée, situated on the coast at the most northern corner of the Adriatic in the district of Venetia.

10 *proximum iter*] the route adopted by Caesar has been much disputed. Napoleon's view is that Caesar, after leaving Turin, proceeded along the valley of the Chiusone through the village of Usseau (Ocelum), then across the Col de M. Genèvre to Briançon and Grenoble on the frontier of the Vocontii, where he would have to cross the Isère, and thence to Lyon. Desjardins, however, perhaps a better authority, places Ocelum at or near the village of Drubiaglio on the Dora Riparia, about 20 miles eastward of Segusio (Suse): this would be a more direct route from Turin to M. Genèvre.

12 *Ceutrones*] thus, and not Centrones, should the name be spelt. They are placed by Desjardins between the northernmost bend of the Isère and Briançon. In Napoleon's map they are put more to the north-east.

Graioceli] Desjardins places this tribe on the east slope of the Alpes Graiae, between them and Ocelum (Drubiaglio). The Alpes Graiae are the chain connecting the little S. Bernard (M. Graius) with M. Cenis. Napoleon places the Graioceli along the left bank of the Isère.

Caturiges] this tribe, whose name may survive in the village of Chorges, seem to have occupied the right bank of the Durance not far from Embrun.

14 *compluribus his proeliis pulsis*] the order of the words is a little confusing: 'these having been beaten in several engagements'.

15 *Vocontiorum*] the Vocontii extended from the Rhone to Briançon: the place here alluded to by Caesar is probably Grenoble.

17 *Segusiavos*] they must have occupied a part of the departments of Rhone and Loire: from vii. 75 we learn that they were *clientes* of the Aedui. (Addenda.)

CHAP. 11.

24 *liberi eorum*] *liberi sui* would have been more in accordance with the oblique structure of the sentence.

26 *Aedui Ambarri*] this tribe was settled on the right bank of the Rhone in the department of Ain; a trace of their name may still survive in the village of Ambérieux. *Ambarris* should in all likelihood

be read for *Ambivaretis* in the list of the *clientes* of the Aedui given in VII. 75.

28 *Allobroges*] it will be remembered that the Allobroges occupied the region lying between the Isère and the Rhone; from the present passage we learn that they had some detached settlements on the right bank of the Rhone.

30 *fuga se recipiunt*] 'betake themselves in flight', different from *ex fuga se recipere*, for which see VII. 20.

sibi nihil esse reliqui] 'they had nothing left'; cf. Sall. Cat. 28 *quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat.*

33 *Santonos*] in 10, if the reading be correct, Caesar wrote *Santonum* from *Santones;* here all the best MSS have *Santonos.*

CHAP. 12.

p. 7. 1 *Arar*] the Saône. In the fourth cent. it bore the name Sauconna, afterwards Saogonna or Sagona, whence the modern Saône. The extreme slowness of the stream is mentioned by the Latin poets, *lentus Arar* Claudian XVII. 53; *tacitoque liquore mixtus Arar*, Silius Ital. v. 451: cf. Desjardins I. 162.

4 *transibant*] Napoleon, with whom A. von Kampen agrees, fixes their point of crossing at Trévoux, a few miles north of the junction of the Rhone and Saône. He makes their line of march after leaving the Pas de l'Écluse pass through Culoz, Virieu-le-grand, Tenay, Ambérieux. Desjardins is disposed to put the point of crossing higher up, near Mâcon, on the ground that the Helvetii would not have ventured to cross so large a river with six Roman legions occupying the neighbouring heights (supposing them to have been encamped at Sathonay as seems probable), and that, had they been so near to him, Caesar would not be said to have learnt their movements by means of scouts.

7 *reliquam*] in sense quite equivalent to *relictam;* this usage of *reliquus* is by no means rare. Cf. V. 52.

de tertia vigilia] the Romans divided their night from sunset to sunrise into four *vigiliae* (watches) of varying length according to the season of the year. Cf. 21.

11 *in proximas silvas abdiderunt*] *in* with the accusative is used because a verb of motion is implied: they went to the woods and hid themselves in them.

12 *Tigurinus*] of the four *pagi*, into which the Helvetic state was divided, Caesar only mentions two by name, the Tigurini and the Verbigeni (27). Desjardins supposes that the other two were the Raurici and the Tulingi, cf. n. on 5. (Addenda.)

14 *L. Cassium*] cf. note on 7.

16 *sive inmortalium*] compare Caesar's allusion to the interference of heaven in human affairs in his answer to Divico 14. Mr Froude perhaps goes too far in saying 'His own writings contain nothing

to indicate that he himself had any religious belief at all. He saw no evidence that the gods practically interfered in human affairs. He never pretended that Jupiter was on his side. He thanked his soldiers after a victory, but he did not order Te Deums to be sung for it'. Caesar, p. 493.

20 *L. Pisonis*] the consul of 58: cf. n. on 6 end.

CHAP. 13.

23 *pontem*] the construction of Caesar's bridges is explained in my n. to IV. 15. Of course a bridge of much slighter texture than that which Caesar constructed on the Rhine would suffice for the Saône.

25 *cum intellegerent*] 'understanding as they did'.

26 *ut flumen transirent*] explanatory of *confecerant* 'that which they had accomplished', etc., 'namely the passage of the river'. See n. on 5 *ut exeant*.

28 *bello Cassiano*] this was in 107; Divico then must have been 70 or 80 years of age at this time.

30 *faceret...ituros*] in or. rect. *si...facit...ibunt...ubi...constituerit.*

32 *perseveraret*] sc. Caesar.

p. 8. 3 *tribueret*] this absolute use of *tribuere* is to say the least unusual: in the passage quoted by Schneider from Cic. Fam. XIII. 9 *plurimum* is read after *tribuerim* by Wesenberg and Kayser: in the phrase *plurimum tribuere*, which is common enough, is *plurimum* an adverb or an accusative after *tribuere?* With the present passage Kraner cf. *dabat famae*, Tac. An. I. 7.

4 *ut magis virtute*] had Caesar written *ut non dolo contenderent aut insidiis niterentur*, the sense would have been perfectly clear; it would seem that having intended to write this he changed his mind and substituted *magis virtute quam dolo* for *non dolo*, thus leaving the connexion of the last words *aut insidiis niterentur* rather ambiguous. See appendix.

7 *internicione*] 'annihilation': the word properly means 'mutual slaughter'; it is common in the phrase *ad internicionem*, e.g. *bellum ad internicionem gestum est*. Cf. II. 28.

CHAP. 14.

8 *his*] 'sc. *legatis* (cf. 34 *ei legationi respondit*), not neuter, in which case Caesar would have said *ad haec* as in 36, II. 32, etc.' Kraner.

10 *teneret*] the past tense is conditioned by the perfect *respondit: teneat* would have been equally correct.

12 *qui si*] 'and if it', i.e. the Roman people.

15 *quod si*] 'suppose that I am willing to forget a bygone insult, can I also put away the recollection of recent wrongs, the wrong of attempting *to force* a passage through the province against my will, the wrong of *harassing the Aedui, the* Ambarri, the Allobroges?'

19 *deponere posse*] *num deponere possum* in or. rect. becomes in or. obl. *num (se) deponere posse:* for *memoriam deponere* cf. B. C. II. 28 *ne primam sacramenti memoriam deponerent.*

20 *impune iniurias tulisse*] the student should notice here that *iniurias ferre* does not mean 'to suffer wrongs', a meaning which the phrase often has, nor 'to inflict wrongs', a meaning which it never has, but the words *impune ferre* must be taken closely together and mean 'to go unpunished for'. *iniuriae* here are of course wrongs inflicted and not wrongs suffered.

21 *eodem pertinere*] 'tended in the same direction', 'pointed to the same thing', i.e. to their approaching punishment, as Mr Long rightly explained it.

23 *secundiores res*] for the sentiment here expressed Kraner refers to the lines of an unknown tragic poet quoted by Aristotle Rhet. II. 23 § 20 *πολλοῖς ὁ δαίμων οὐ κατ' εὔνοιαν φέρων | μεγάλα δίδωσιν εὐτυχήματ', ἀλλ' ἵνα | τὰς συμφορὰς λάβωσιν ἐπιφανεστέρας.*

26 *de iniuriis satisfaciant*] 'give satisfaction for', the same phrase occurs again in V. I.

29 *ita institutos esse*] *didicisse* is used in a similar sense in 13; *ita se a patribus maioribusque suis didicisse ut*, etc.

CHAP. 15.

32 *castra movent*] Napoleon thinks with great probability that the Gauls, after crossing the Saône, followed the line of the subsequent Roman road from Lyon to Autun, which was no doubt only an improvement of an old Gallic road. This route would take them through or near Belleville, Avenas, Cluny, and St Vallier, where it is supposed that they quitted the Autun road and turned westward, passing through Issy l'Evêque, Remilly, etc. to Mont Beuvray, near which the decisive battle was fought: cf. 21 sqq. Heller, however, with whom Kraner agrees, follows de Saulcy in placing the site of the decisive battle near Ivry and Cussy-la-Colonne about 16 or 18 miles N.E. of Autun. In this neighbourhood a number of graves have been found which from various indications are judged to be those of the Helvetii who fell in the battle. Heller makes the Helvetii quit the Saône valley somewhere above Mâcon (cf. 16) and march into the Charolais hill district, thence north-eastward towards Ivry, passing to the east of Autun. See the case fully argued by Heller in Philol. XIX. 557 sqq., XXVI. 657 sqq.

p. 9. 4 *alieno*] 'unfavourable'.

5 *sublati*] 'elated by'. Cf. V. 38 *hac victoria sublatus;* B. C. II. 37 *quibus rebus omnibus sublati.*

9 *in praesentia*] Kraner says that *praesentia* is here the n. acc. pl. of *praesens;* I believe it to be the abl. sing. of *praesentia:* the phrase occurs again B. C. I. 30.

10 *ita*] *ita* is not the antecedent to *uti*, which itself does duty here for *ita uti*. Tr. 'and so they marched for 15 days, in such a way that', etc.

12 *quinis aut senis*] the distributive numerals are used to express the notion that *on each day* the distance between the two forces was only 5 or 6 miles.

CHAP. 16.

14 *essent polliciti*] this sentence is quoted by Prof. Kennedy, Gram. § 191, as an instance of 'virtual sub-oblique' construction. *flagitabat* implies that Caesar reminded the Aedui of their promise, hence the mood of *polliciti essent*.

15 *frigora*] 'the cold', not cold at any particular time, but cold seasons generally, hence the plural. The country was undoubtedly colder in the time of Caesar than it is at the present day; increased population and cultivation have a warming effect upon climate.

20 *diem ex die ducere*] *diem ex die* is probably briefly put for *in diem ex die* 'from day to day', and *ducere* is used absolutely for *tempus* or *rem ducere*, or is *eum* to be supplied, cf. in the next sentence *se duci?* Such expressions as *mora dies extrahente* B. C. I. 32, *triduum extrahitur* 33, might be quoted in favour of taking *diem* as an acc. governed by *ducere*.

21 *conferri, comportari, adesse*] the Aedui said first that the corn was being collected (*conferri*), then that it was on its way (*comportari*), by and by that it was close at hand (*adesse*).

23 *metiri*] Kraner asserts on insufficient grounds that *metiri* here and in 23 is to be taken as a passive: this use of the word seems to occur only in very late authors.

26 *vergobretum*] the word means 'judgment-dealer', being derived from the Gallic *vergo*, Kymric *guerg*, old Irish *ferg* (*efficax*) and Irish *breth*, Gallic *brath* (*iudicium*). Desjardins is wrong in saying that this office was peculiar to the Aedui, for the title has been found on a coin of the Lexovii in Normandy (Cuno, Vorgeschichte Roms I. 39).

29 *tam necessario tempore*] 'at such an urgent crisis'. Cf. VII. 32, 40, *necessaria res* B. C. I. 40.

CHAP. 17.

p. 10. 4 *quod debeant*] sc. *conferre*. See appendix.

6 *dubitare*] cf. n. on 7 *rogare*.

10 *necessariam rem*] 'an urgent matter'. See appendix.

CHAP. 18.

15 *iactari*] 'noised abroad'.

16 *quaerit*] 'inquires into', 'asks about'. So below, *eadem quaerit*.

17 *liberius atque audacius*] these are real comparatives, 'more outspokenly and boldly', i.e. than he had before.

18 *ipsum esse Dumnorigem*] 'that it was Dumnorix and no other'. *summa audacia* 'a man of boundless audacity'.

20 *portoria*] dues on imports and exports. These dues were farmed as at Rome; that is, the right of collecting them was sold by auction to the

highest bidder: a certain sum was thus guaranteed to the State while the difficult task of collection was left to individual enterprise. The person or persons thus empowered collected the dues by means of agents and retained whatever surplus there was over and above the sum guaranteed to the public exchequer. Dumnorix by means of intimidation had for many years secured the right of farming the various branches of the revenue for a small sum and had thus enriched himself at the expense of the State. When we read that a Gallic chieftain could sometimes summon 10000 armed retainers it is easy to understand the intimidation practised by Dumnorix.

27 *posse*] 'to have power' or 'influence'=*potentem esse.* The adverb *largiter* is rare in classical prose authors; it occurs in B. Af. 72.

30 *nuptum collocasse*] 'had bestowed in marriage in (lit. 'into') other states'.

cupere] *cupere alicui*='to desire a person's good'. Forc. qu. Cic. Ep. Q. F. I. 2. § 3 *quid, ego Fundanio non cupio? non amicus sum?*

31 *suo nomine*] 'on his own account'.

p. 11. 1 *si quid accidat Romanis*] 'in the event of anything happening to the Romans', i.e. if the Romans meet with disaster.

3 *imperio*] ablative of attendant circumstances, cf. R. § 1240 sqq. 'In case of the supremacy of the Roman people'.

4 *in quaerendo*] 'in the course of his enquiry'. *quod*='whereas'.

5 *proelium equestre adversum*] *proelium equestre* form as it were one word, 'a cavalry-engagement', and *adversum* is the adjective qualifying it. Cf. n. on VII. 36.

6 *factum*] the repetition of *factum* is a mark of carelessness. Cf. 38, V. 35; VII. 20.

CHAP. **19.**

10 *quod*] 'the fact that'.

12 *iniussu suo et civitatis*] 'without his (Caesar's) orders and the State's'. *iniussu* is properly the ablative case of a noun *iniussus*, but no other case is ever used.

22 *cotidianis*] 'everyday', i.e. 'ordinary'.

C. Valerium Procillum] the son of a Gaul named Caburus who had been presented with the Roman citizenship by C. Valerius Flaccus, whence he took the name of Gaius Valerius Caburus. Cf. 47, VII. 65 new edition.

23 *cui summam*] 'in whom he had the most absolute confidence'.

25 *simul*] the *simul* connects *commonefacit* with *et ostendit*, 'he at once reminds him...and informs him'.

27 *sine eius offensione animi*] 'without any offence to himself', i.e. Divitiacus; 'without letting his own feelings be hurt'.

28 *statuat*] lit. 'he (Caesar) begs...that he himself should decide', etc., but to make good English we must say 'that he himself should *be allowed to* decide', or 'he begs for permission to decide'. Kraner qu. B. C. I. 26 *ut ipse* (*Caesar*) *cum Pompeio colloqueretur...postulat.*

CHAP. **20.**

33 *domi*] 'in his own land', here opposed to *in reliqua Gallia*, as in 18 to *apud finitimas civitates.*

p. 12. 2 *nervis*] cf. our use of the word 'sinews' to denote resources or strength as in the common (and, according to Bacon, trivial) saying 'money is the sinews of war', which is taken apparently from Cic. Phil. V. 5 *nervos belli pecuniam infinitam;* cf. Tac. Hist. II. 84.

3 *sed*] observe the omission of *etiam*, so in 43 *non modo...sed.* Lewis and Short (Lat. Dict. s. v. *sed*) remark '*sed* standing alone isolates the ascending idea, while an appended *etiam*, *et*, or *quoque* places it in closer connection with the first statement, and thus permits them to be viewed together'.

4 *existimatione vulgi*] 'public opinion' or 'the esteem in which the people held Dumnorix'.

5 *a Caesare*] *accidisset* is treated as if it were a passive verb: tr. 'if any severe measures should be taken against him by Caesar'.

10 *tanti esse ut*] for the various meanings of *tanti est* cf. R. §§ 1192, 1193. Caesar's word to Divitiacus expressed in or. rect. would be 'your friendship is of so great a weight with me that I overlook the wrong done to the state and my own resentment in consideration of your goodwill and entreaties'. Cf. below *praeterita se Divitiaco condonare*, lit. 'he makes a present of all that is past to Divitiacus', i.e. 'he overlooks all that is past to please Divitiacus'.

CHAP. **21.**

20 *sub monte*] perhaps M. Tauffrin, a hill four kilomètres to the west of Issy l'Evêque.

23 *legatum pro praetore*] the *legati* were appointed by the senate to take the field under the orders of the general in command; they were of senatorial rank and in some cases received the status and functions of propraetor.

25 *quid sui consilii sit*] cf. VII. 77 *quid mei consilii est? consilii* is the genitive of 'divided whole'. R. § 1296.

CHAP. **22.**

31 *ipse*] '*while* he himself': the adversative particle *autem* is omitted here as often elsewhere.

p. 13. 1 *equo admisso ad eum accurrit*] 'gallops up to him'.

2 *voluerit*]=*voluisti* in the exact words of Considius.

5 *Labienus*] It was the forces of Labienus which Considius mistook for Gauls. Caesar, though he had also taken up his position on a hill (*copias in proximum collem subducit*) evidently could not see the hill held by Labienus, for it was only later in the day that he learnt from scouts that Considius' report was false, and that it was the Romans and not the Gauls that occupied the hill in question.

9 *multo die*] 'when the day was far advanced', so *multo mane*, *multa nocte*, *ad multam noctem*, 26.

11 *timore perterritum*] the ablatives *timore* and *metu* are frequently thus joined with the participle *perterritus*, with which they almost coalesce into a single word; cf. our 'panic-stricken'.

12 *quo consuerat intervallo*] about 5 or 6 miles; cf. 15, end.

14 *castra ponit*] Napoleon supposes that the Gauls had now advanced as far as Remilly, a village on the Alène, and that Caesar pitched his camp near Ternant on the Cressonne, about three miles from the enemy. But if Heller's view be adopted (cf. n. on 15), we must suppose that the Helvetii followed by Caesar were somewhere between Châlons and Autun, possibly near Chagny.

CHAP. 23.

15 *biduum supererat cum*] 'it was two days to the time when it was needful for them to distribute the corn'. *metiri* need not be passive here any more than in 16, where see note.

17 *Bibracte*] this Gallic oppidum was situated on M. Beuvray, about 10 miles to the west of Autun.

18 *mil. pass. XVIII*] about 16 miles.

20 *fugitivos*] runaway slaves, Kraner, who quotes Liv. fragm. XCI. *transfugas liberos vivos ad se adduci iussit, fugitivos...ipsis imperavit ut interficerent.*

21 *decurionis*] *decurio* is properly the officer in command of a *decuria* of cavalry.

CHAP. 24.

27 *animum advertit*] Caesar seems to use *animum advertere* and *animadvertere* indiscriminately.

30 *in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit*] The four legions were drawn up in a triple line along the side of the hill, that is, each legion consisted of three lines, these lines being so arranged that the first consisted of four, the second of three cohorts, and likewise the third. The two new legions with the *auxilia* were placed on the top of the hill. Napoleon, followed by A. von Kampen, has selected as the locality of the battle a spot where two hills of slight elevation are separated by a valley, through which runs a small stream called la Roche, issuing from the Alène which flows in a westerly direction about a mile to the south of the spot in question. On the eastern of these two elevations, situated between the villages of le petit Marié and le grand Marié, he supposes the six legions to have been placed, and the cavalry on the other side of the brook. The Helvetii descending

from the western elevation (marked in the map la Garde Chateau), drove the cavalry across the brook and advanced up to the Roman lines, *sub primam nostram aciem successerunt*. A. v. Kampen places the *carri* and *impedimenta* of the enemy on another slight elevation north of la Garde Chateau. Between these two hills and over the hill on which he supposes the Romans to have taken their stand runs an old road leading to Bibracte. De Saulcy and Heller (as before stated in n. on 15) consider the battle to have been fought between Ivry and Cussy. I have thought it right to state the views of Napoleon, Kampen, and others on the subject of this and other localities, though one sometimes feels inclined to agree with the observations of M. Desjardins on the extreme uncertainty, if not the inutility, of these topographical identifications when they rest on such slender data as Caesar here condescends to give us.

31 *veteranorum*] on the text of this passage see the appendix.

p. 14. 2 *qui in superiore acie constiterant*] the two legions who were posted on the top of the hill.

5 *phalange*] a term borrowed from the Greek military tactics: it denotes a close compact body of infantry.

CHAP. 25.

11 *ad pugnam impedimento*] this use of *ad* after words denoting 'hindrance' is not uncommon; cf. VII. 10 *magnam difficultatem ad consilium capiendum afferebat;* 26 etc.

12 *pilorum*] 'the shaft of the *pilum* was 4½ feet long, and the barbed iron head was of the same length, but this extended half way down the shaft to which it was attached with extreme care, so that the whole length of the weapon was about 6 ft. 9 in.' S. D. A. The head which seems to have sometimes terminated in a barbed point was sufficiently flexible to bend in piercing the shield or armour of the foe, which rendered it difficult to extricate. The first rank of the Helvetian phalanx covered themselves in front with their shields, while the hinder ranks probably held theirs in a slanting position over their heads; it would thus be easy for the *pilum* when strongly thrown to transfix two or more of these *scuta*.

13 *cum*] 'inasmuch as the iron point had bent'.

15 *multi ut*] the *ut* is transposed as *cum* occasionally is; cf. 43 *ex equis ut colloquerentur*.

16 *nudo corpore*] *nudus* simply means without defensive armour: 'unprotected'.

17 *mons*] probably la Garde Chateau: see above 24.

18 *mille passuum*] *mille* is an indeclinable noun, corresponding here to an adverbial accusative case. Dräger Hist. Synt. I § 57 quoted from Cato Origines I, *inde est ferme mille passuum*. *mille* is not governed by *circiter*. Notice *suberat* 'was at hand', the *sub* expressing proximity. Caesar might equally well have written *aberat*.

19 *Boii et Tulingi*] they were encamped somewhere to the north of the

battle-field, and so attacked the Romans on the flank as they were pressing the enemy over the hill; hence *ex itinere* 'on their way', i.e. while going in pursuit of the main body of the Helvetii.

21 *latere aperto*] on the right flank, the shield being held in the left hand.

22 *conspicati*] *conspicor* is 'very frequent in Plautus and Caesar, several times in Terence; elsewhere rare; never in Lucretius, Cicero, Vergil or Horace'. (L. and S.)

24 *conversa signa bipartito intulerunt*] 'changed their front, and advanced to the attack in two divisions'. For *conversa signa* cf. II. 26. It is impossible now to discover the exact nature of the manœuvre here alluded to.

25 *victis ac submotis*] the Helvetii, who had been routed, but were now returning to the encounter. *venientes* are the Boii and Tulingi.

CHAP. **26**.

26 *ancipiti proelio*] *anceps proelium* is an engagement in which fighting goes on on different sides; 'a double engagement', cf. VII. 76.

27 *diutius cum*] *diutius* gains additional emphasis by being put before *cum;* cf. below *diu cum esset pugnatum*.

28 *alteri*] the Helvetii, the second *alteri* denotes the Boii and Tulingi.

30 *hora septima*] about 1 p.m. *cum* is concessive, and may be translated 'although'. R. § 1730.

p. 15. 2 *carros rotasque*] almost = the wheels of the cars. (Addenda.)

mataras ac tragulas] 'pikes and javelins'. *matara* is a latinised form of a Keltic word. Caesar seems to mean that some of the enemy sheltered themselves behind or under the wagons, and thrust their pikes out (*subiciebant*) through the wheels.

6 *eaque tota nocte*] ablative of duration of time, cf. Cic. p. Sulla 17 *eo tempore omni* where Mr Reid remarks that it is the addition of *omni* as here of *tota* that gives the idea of duration: see note on *biduo* B. G. V. 48.

7 *nullam partem*] accusative of duration of time. Some have supposed the words *nullam...intermisso* to be merely a marginal explanation of *continenter*.

8 *Lingonum*] the chief town of the Lingones, Andematunnum, afterwards called Lingones after the name of the tribe, is the modern Langres in the department of Haute Marne.

die quarto] Napoleon, on what grounds I do not quite understand, asserts that the Helvetii stayed their flight at Tonnerre, a town on the Armançon. In the expression *die quarto*, the day of the battle is probably reckoned in; thus, if the battle was fought on Monday, they reached their destination on Thursday. The distance from the battle-field, supposing it to have been close to M. Beuvray, to Tonnerre is between 60 and 70 miles.

10 *triduum morati*] this inability of the Romans to follow for three days seems to show that they had been severely handled.

12 *qui si iuvissent*] Madvig Adv. II. 246 proposes to write *qui iuvissent* on the ground that *qui* is unnecessary in a hypothetical enuntiation such as *si iuvissent*, but Kraner compares 44 *qui nisi decedat...sese illum non pro amico sed hoste habiturum.* The omission of *eos* or *illos*, the object of *habiturum*, should be noticed; in the passage just quoted from 44, the object *illum* is inserted.

CHAP. 27.

14 *omnium rerum inopia*] 'utter destitution'.

17 *suppliciterque*] 'and in suppliant tones besought him with tears for peace'.

atque...iussisset] one would have expected *atque cum is iussisset.*

19 *eo*] that is, to Tonnerre, supposing Napoleon's identification to be right.

22 *Verbigenus*] one of the four *pagi* or cantons of the Helvetii: cf. n. on 12.

CHAP. 28.

29 *sibi purgati*] 'clear of blame in his sight'.

30 *in hostium numero*] *in* might have been omitted as in v. 27, and elsewhere.

p. 16. 2 *copiam facerent*] 'supply them with corn': *copiam facere* was a common colloquial expression in the sense of 'give an opportunity', e.g. Plaut. Capt. 742 *ut mihi eius facias conveniundi copiam.*

8 *petentibus Aeduis*] this is probably an abl. abs., though it might be taken as a dative after *concessit.*

10 *quibus*] *quibus* and the following *quos* had better be resolved in translation into 'and' with the demonstrative pronoun, 'and to them they gave'...'and admitted them'.

in parem] 'into a similar status of right and liberty as they enjoyed themselves'. Kraner remarks that as the Helvetii are represented in VII. 9 (end) as still dependants of the Aedui, the equalisation here spoken of cannot have been bestowed on them till after the rising of Vercingetorix. This then would be an argument in favour of the view that Caesar's history was not composed, or at all events did not receive its final shape, till after the end of the Gallic campaigns.

CHAP. 29.

12 *litteris Graecis*] probably in Greek characters, but not in the Greek language. Cf. v. 48.

14 *nominatim*] 'expressly', 'with full particulars'.

ratio...qui numerus] 'a calculation of the numbers that', etc.

16 *summa*] notice that *summa* is followed by two distinct genitives, *rerum* and *capitum*, 'now of all these divisions the sum amounted to 263000 heads (we should say 'souls') of the Helvetii', etc. Cf. n. on *numerus* below.

20 *fuerunt ad milia CCCLXVIII*] Caesar might have written *fuit* agreeing with *summa*, but has preferred to make the verb agree with *milia* which, it should be observed, is in the nominative case, *ad* having lost its prepositional force, and being used adverbially = 'about'. Cf. II. 33 *occisis ad hominum milibus IV.*

eorum numerus...milium] *numerus* here like *summa* above is followed by two genitives: 'the number *of* those who...was found to consist *of* 110000'.

CHAP. 30.

23 *totius fere Galliae*] Caesar probably means Keltic Gaul.

25 *Helvetiorum iniuriis populi Romani*] *Helvetiorum* is the subjective, *populi Romani* the objective, genitive after *iniuriis:* 'injuries inflicted by the Helvetii on the Roman people'. Cf. 31 *Ariovisti iniuria* 'injury done by Ariovistus', so V. 20 *iniuria Cassivellauni.*

27 *ex usu accidisse*] it should be noticed that *accidere* is not always used of unfavourable events, though it will generally be found to denote an unforeseen or unfortunate occurrence. Cf. IV. 22 *satis opportune accidisse;* Cic. Ep. Att. I. 5 *omnia quae iucunda accidere possunt accidebant.* With *ex usu* cf. such phrases as *ex re*, *ex sententia*, *e re publica*, etc.: *ex utilitate* is not found in the classical period (Dräger).

terrae Galliae] lit. 'the land Gaul', *Galliae* being not dependent on, but in apposition to, *terrae;* so *Mons Iura*, *Rhenus flumen*, etc.

28 *florentissimis rebus*] 'though their power was at its height'.

30 *locumque...iudicassent*] 'and to select out of so wide an area such a place for habitation as they should judge to be most suitable and most fertile in (out of) the whole of Gaul'.

p. 17. 1 *Caesaris voluntate*] not only did they ask for permission to hold such an assembly, but they wished also to have Caesar's approval.

4 *concilio*] 'for the assembly': contrast with the dative here VII. 2 *tempore eius rei constituto.*

CHAP. 31.

6 *eo concilio dimisso*] Caesar speaks of the dismissal of the assembly without having previously stated that it was held; he leaves his readers to gather that from the fact that he had given the required permission (*ea re permissa*). The curious brevity of this narration has led some to suppose a lacuna after *sanxerunt.*

16 *Arvernos*] the Arverni occupied the district now called Auvergne. They claimed to be of kindred descent with the Romans, cf. Luc. I. 427 *Arvernique ausi Latio se fingere fratres | sanguine ab Iliaco populi.*

potentatu] this word occurs but seldom.

18 *Sequanis*] the Sequani were *clientes* of the *Arverni.* In VI. 12 Caesar attributes to them the leading position here assigned to the Arverni, '*omnes civitates in partes divisae sunt duas cum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis principes erant Aedui, alterius Sequani*'; and see below *coactos esse* (*Aeduos*) *Sequanis obsides dare.*

22 *clientes*] the Segusiavi, the Aedui Ambarri and the Aulerci Brannovices were clients of the Aedui.

p. 18. 6 *qui esset*] *esset* not *erat* because this is a subordinate clause in or. obl., being a part of Divitiacus' speech. If *erat* had been used it would have shown that the clause was to be regarded as containing a parenthetical remark by the writer himself.

9 *Harudum*] the Harudes were situated between the Rhine, the Main and the Danube.

10 *locus*] 'room'; *sedes* 'settlements', cf. below *aliud domicilium alias sedes.*

13 *consuetudinem victus*] 'manner of living': the phrase occurs in Cic. Att. XII. 26. *hanc* refers to the Gauls, *illa* to the Germans.

16 *Admagetobrigae*] this name is variously written in the MSS. Nothing whatever is known of the place. (Addenda.)

superbe et crudeliter] 'with arrogance and cruelty'. Cicero speaking of the last king of Rome says *atque ille Tarquinius, quem maiores nostri non tulerunt, non crudelis, non impius sed superbus habitus est et dictus* (Phil. III. 9), yet the two ideas are closely allied, cf. Liv. VIII. 33 *quantum interesse inter moderationem antiquorum et novam superbiam crudelitatemque.*

17 *omnia exempla cruciatusque*] *exempla* = 'punishments' regarded as patterns or warnings to others; cf. Ter. Eun. V. 6. 21 *uterque in te exempla edent.* Caesar might equally well have written, and possibly did write, *omnia exempla cruciatus*, *cruciatus* being gen. sing. after *exempla.*

20 *non posse*] *se* must be supplied as below with *dubitare.* Frigell unnecessarily reads *sustineri.*

21 *nisi si quid...auxilii*] lit. 'except if there is some aid' = 'unless there is some aid', for this use of *si* after *nisi* cf. Halm on Cic. Phil. II. § 70 (ed. Mayor).

23 *ut domo emigrent*] this clause is explanatory of the preceding *faciendum*, as in 5 *facere ut exeant* where see note.

25 *non dubitare quin*] 'he did not doubt but that he (Ariovistus) would inflict' etc. *se* is also omitted with *dubitare* in 17 *neque dubitare quin* etc., cf. also *non posse* above. For the various constructions of *dubito* see Mr Reid's note on Cic. de senect. 16.

29 *deterrere posse ne*] cf. 17 *multitudinem deterrere, ne frumentum conferant: quominus* might have been used in place of *ne.*

CHAP. 32.

p. 19. 1 *quas ceteri facerent*] not quite equivalent to 'of those things which the rest did' for this would require *faciebant*, but 'of such things as the rest did'.

5 *neque*] = *neque tamen.*

10 *horrerent*] *horrere* does not occur elsewhere in Caesar.

reliquis tamen] *tamen...vero* correspond here nearly to μὲν...δέ. 'The

rest it is true...while the Sequani'. We may perhaps compare Cic. p. Sest. 140 *hunc tamen flagrantem...populus Romanus liberavit...ceteri vero* which Halm however explains as = *hunc quanquam flagrabat... tamen liberavit.*

CHAP. 33.

18 *secundum ea*] 'next to these considerations'.

20 *fratres consanguineosque*] there was some sort of alliance between the Aedui and the Romans as early as 121 B.C.: one of the reasons for the campaign against the Allobroges undertaken in that year was that *Aeduorum agros sociorum populi Romani vastavissent* Livy Ep. 61: Tacitus An. XI. 25 says *primi Aedui senatorum in urbe ius adepti sunt. datum id foederi antiquo, et quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant.* Yet the Arverni claimed kinship with the Romans *Arvernique ausi Latio se fingere fratres | sanguine ab Iliaco populi* Luc. Phars. I. 427. There seems to have been some dim consciousness in the minds of both peoples of the affinities of race and language between the Keltic and Latin stocks. Cf. Cuno I. 49.

21 *saepenumero*] lit. 'often in number': the comparative *saepiusnumero* occurs in late Latin.

24 *in tanto imperio*] *in* has not its literal meaning here, but is equivalent to 'in the case of'. Tr. freely 'considering the vast empire of the Roman people'.

28 *homines feros ac barbaros*] the same expression is used of the Germans in 31.

sibi temperaturos quin] in 7 *sibi* is omitted, *neque homines...temperaturos ab iniuria existimabat.*

30 *Cimbri Teutonique*] The Teutones were almost exterminated by Gaius Marius in 102 B.C. and the Cimbri in the following year.

32 *Rhodanus divideret*] Caesar means 'especially as *only* the Rhone separated them from the province'.

CHAP. 34.

p. 20. 4 *medium utriusque*] 'half way between the two'.

6 *si quid*] in or. rect. *si quid mihi a te opus esset ego ad te venissem; si quid tu me vis oportet te ad me venire.* This is given as an example of or. obl. by Prof. Kennedy Gram. § 230.

11 *molimento*] 'effort': cf. appendix.

12 *quid...negotii*] for the separation of *quid* from its dependent genitive cf. VII. 77 *quid.. animi* where nine words intervene.

CHAP. 35.

16 *consulatu suo*] Caesar was consul in 59. His acknowledgment of the authority of Ariovistus is alluded to by Plutarch Caes. 19 and Dion Cass. XXXVIII. 34.

21 *amplius*] 'that he should not transport any multitude of men *any more* (or 'after this') across the Rhine'; cf. 43 end *at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.*

24 *voluntate eius*] 'with his full concurrence'.

26 *si fecisset*] 'if he should do so', in or. rect. *si id feceris.*

27 *impetraret*] in or. rect. *si non impetro* 'if I do not gain my request'.

28 *M. Messala, M. Pisone consulibus*] B. C. 61.

29 *quod*] = *quoad* 'so far as'.

31 *se*] this word takes up the *sese* at the beginning of the sentence: the number of words intervening between it and its verb *neglecturum* requires its repetition.

CHAP. 36.

p. 21. 8 *suo*] *suo* refers to Caesar, *sibi* to Ariovistus: so below in the sentence *neminem secum sine sua iniuria contendisse, secum* refers to the speaker Ariovistus while *sua* refers to the imaginary opponent.

10 *iniuria*] 'wrongfully', an adverbial ablative like *iure* 'rightfully', *ratione* 'rationally' etc.

11 *quotannis*] literally 'as many years as there are', *coti* (*quoti*) *anni* (*sunt*): the form *annis* is the old nom. pl. which in the *o*-stems ended in *is* or *eis*: cf. *cotidie* 'as many days as there are' where the *s* of the nom. pl. has been lost.

12 *fraternum nomen populi Romani*] 'the title of "brothers" given them by the Roman people'.

longe eis afuturum] 'would avail them but little'. Kraner cf. Verg. Aen. XII. 52 *longe illi dea mater erit.*

16 *inter annos XIIII*] for this use of *inter* = *intra* cf. Cic. Verr. I. 13 *inter decem annos* (Draeger).

CHAP. 37.

18 *eodem tempore...et*] 'at one and the same time these messages were reported to Caesar and deputies came'.

19 *Treveris*] the Treveri, a powerful Keltic tribe, were situated on the left bank of the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Trèves (formerly Augusta Treverorum) which as well as the district of Trier derives its name from them.

22 *pacem Ariovisti redimere*] cf. 44 *omnium gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte redimere;* B. C. I. 39 *largitione militum voluntates redemit.*

23 *pagos centum Sueborum*] cf. IV. 1 for some account of this powerful tribe.

CHAP. 38.

30 *tridui viam*] after the great defeat of the Helvetii near Bibracte Caesar pursued the vast horde of fugitives to the territory of the Lingones in which they had encamped. Caesar gives no indication of the exact locality which they occupied; Napoleon places it at Tonnerre. While here Caesar heard of the arrival of Ariovistus among the Sequani (31) and soon after of the crossing of the Rhine by fresh bodies of Germans (37). He then decided to go and meet Ariovistus, and, as he

says himself, he made forced marches (*magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit*). In the present chapter he says that after marching for three days he heard that Ariovistus was making for Besançon and was already three days' distance from *sui fines;* by this expression Caesar apparently means the third part of the territory of the Sequani that Ariovistus had annexed. Supposing Caesar to have started from Tonnerre, a forced march of three days may have brought him to the neighbourhood of Arc-en-Barrois, passing through Tanlay, Gland, Laignes, Étrochey and Dancevoir. The old road between Tanlay and Gland is said to be still called 'route de César'.

p. 22. 3 *facultas*] 'abundance', in the next line the word means 'facilities'. The near repetition of the word in a different sense is perhaps a mark of careless writing, cf. 18; V. 35; VII. 20.

5 *Dubis*] this is no doubt the correct form of the name; it is the modern Doubs. (Addenda.)

circino] *circinus* (κίρκινος circle) a pair of compasses: see Ovid's description of the compasses Met. VIII. 247 *Primus* (Perdix, not Daedalus as Forcellini, ed. De-Vit, says) *et ex uno duo ferrea brachia nodo* | *vinxit ut, aequali spatio distantibus illis,* | *altera pars staret pars altera duceret orbem.* Ovid's *duceret* illustrates *circumductum* which is neuter agreeing with *flumen* not with *oppidum:* tr. 'because the river Doubs surrounds almost the whole town as though drawn round it by compasses'.

7 *pedum mille sexcentorum*] the exact breadth of the portion of land inclosed between the two arms of the river is said to be 1620 Roman feet, a clear proof that M (*mille*) must be inserted in defiance of the MSS which all agree in DC. The M fell out after the *m* of *pedum*. *pedum* depends loosely on *quod est* 'which consists of', *amplius* not affecting the construction, cf. VII. 15 *amplius viginti urbes incenduntur.*

CHAP. 39.

14 *vocibus*] 'remarks', 'expressions', as below, *horum vocibus ac timore.*

15 *magnitudine*] so Caesar says of the Suebi in IV. 1 *quae res* (their manner of living) *et vires alit et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit.* The Romans were of small stature and were sometimes derided on this account by the stalwart Gauls and Germans, cf. II. 30.

18 *aciem oculorum*] Tacitus Germ. 4 speaks of the *truces et caerulei oculi* of the Germans. Plutarch Marius XI. says that the Cimbri were considered to be Germans τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῇ χαροπότητι τῶν ὀμμάτων. Cf. Iuv. XIII. 164.

20 *mentes animosque*] there is no difference here between *mens* and *animus;* the two words coalesce as it were into a single idea: properly speaking *mens* is the intellectual part of the *animus* or rational soul of man: *anima* is the vital principle.

21 *tribunis militum*] there were six military tribunes attached to each

legion; two of these were appointed to command the legion every two months, during which time each exercised sole command on alternate days. They were usually elected partly by the people and partly by the consul. Caesar appears to have chosen his own *tribuni*, and personal friendship, as we learn from the present passage, influenced his choice. They were all young men of equestrian or senatorial rank.

praefectis] the *praefecti* were officers exercising the same command over the *socii*, the allied contingents, as the *tribuni* did over the legions: every *cohors* of the *socii* was commanded by a *praefectus* and every *ala* by three *praefecti*. Mommsen and Marquardt, R. A. v. 377 sqq.

25 *diceret*] this is an instance of the so-called consecutive use of the subjunctive; cf. R. § 1680 sqq.

30 *testamenta obsignabantur*] at an earlier period soldiers were allowed the right of making testaments on the field of battle, which were called *testamenta in procinctu*. This right subsequently fell into disuse, and Caesar replaced it by the *testamentum militare*: '*militibus liberam testamenti factionem primus quidem divus Iulius Caesar concessit, sed ea concessio temporalis erat*', etc. Ulpian Digest qu. by Prof. E. C. Clark, Early Roman Law, p. 122 sqq. Wills made under these circumstances were exempt from the customary formalities attending the *testamentum per aes et libram*.

32 *centuriones*] the *centurio* was the officer in command of a *centuria*; there were consequently 60 in a legion. These men having been promoted from the ranks were brave and experienced soldiers.

quique equitatui praeerant] the officers commanding the cavalry were called *praefecti*.

p. 23. 3 *timere rem frumentariam ut*] a Greek mode of expression for *timere ut res frumentaria satis commode*, etc.; cf. Xen. An. I. 8. 21 Κῦρος ᾔδει βασιλέα, ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος: so in English sometimes, e.g. 'I know thee who thou art'.

5 *cum...iussisset*] 'when he should order'.

6 *non fore dicto audientes*] 'would not obey': *dicto audiens* being equivalent to 'obedient' is sometimes followed by a dative as in 40; cf. Liv. v. 3 *ne plebs nobis dicto audiens neque oboediens sit.*

CHAP. 40.

8 *omnium ordinum centurionibus*] *ordo* = *centuria*. On this occasion Caesar summoned all the 60 centurions of each legion, whereas it was usual only to summon the *primorum ordinum centuriones*, that is, in each legion, the 10 centurions in command of the several cohorts, it being usual to advance the highest in rank of the 6 centurions of each cohort to the command of the cohort itself.

13 *ab officio discessurum*] 'forget his allegiance'.

15 *suam gratiam*] of course in or. rect. this would be *meam gratiam*, yet notice that below *suam virtutem* is not equivalent to *meam virtutem*,

but means 'their own (the soldiers') valour'; this is made quite clear by the following *ipsius*, which refers to Caesar.

18 *factum...videbatur*] it will be observed that in this sentence the or. obl. almost insensibly passes into direct narration; this is shown by the indicative *videbatur*, with which contrast *sublevaret* in the following sentence. *noster* in Caesar's language is simply equivalent to *Romanus*, and therefore its use here does not of itself indicate that the actual words of the speaker are being quoted.

22 *servili tumultu*] *tumultus* is used generally of an outbreak of hostilities in Italy: cf. Cic. Phil. VIII. 3 *itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant.* The rising of the slaves under their gallant leader the Thracian Spartacus lasted from 73—71 B.C. Many of these slaves were German or Keltic captives; hence Caesar's remark that this *tumultus* had afforded the Romans an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Germans and their mode of fighting. Cf. Mommsen Hist. IV. 80 sqq.

quos] the relative refers to *servos* implied in the adjective *servili;* tr. 'in the rising of the slaves whom', etc.

24 *quantum...boni*] *quantum* is, as usual, separated from its dependent genitive; cf. 34 *quid...negotii.*

25 *inermos*] the adjectives *inermis* and *inermus* are used indiscriminately.

29 *qui*] the relative, it need hardly be said, refers to *Helvetii*, not to the nearer *illorum*. Caesar's argument is 'the Helvetii have often conquered the Germans, we have conquered the Helvetii, much more then shall we conquer the Germans'.

30 *si quos*] tr. 'if any of you are disturbed by the defeat and rout of the Gauls, those persons (*hos*) can discover, if they enquire into the matter, that it was when the Gauls were wearied out by a long campaign (*diuturnitate belli*) that Ariovistus after having for several months fenced himself in amid entrenchments and marshes, without giving them a chance of attacking him, set upon them on a sudden when now despairing of success and dispersed, and overcame them by skilful strategy rather than by open valour'.

p. **24.** 3 *cui rationi*] *ratio* is put in the relative clause, when, according to our idiom, at least, it rather belongs to the demonstrative clause *hac* (*ratione*): 'even Ariovistus can hardly expect our troops to be taken in by a strategy which served his purpose (lit. 'for which there was room') when employed against rude barbarians'.

5 *qui suum timorem*] the student should notice the impossibility of literally rendering this very idiomatic sentence into English: tr. freely 'those who made their anxiety about the corn supply and the difficulties of the march a pretext for their fear', or 'those who construed their fear into an anxiety about', etc.

7 *officio*] *officium* here seems about equivalent to *providentia*.

cum viderentur] 'inasmuch as they appear'.

9 *Leucos*] a Keltic tribe, occupying a part of Lothringen; they had a town called Tullum (Toul) on the Moselle.

15 *felicitatem*] 'good fortune'. Sulla was noted for his *felicitas*, and gained thereby the surname of Felix.

17 *longiorem*] 'distant'.

repraesentaturum] 'would do at once': a metaphorical adaptation of the mercantile use of the word = 'to pay on the spot'.

22 *praetoriam cohortem*] 'a body guard': the term *praetoria cohors* was applied (i) to a regular body guard of picked men attending on the commander-in-chief, (ii) to the young men of position, who voluntarily attached themselves to the general's staff in order to see active service. (Kraner.)

CHAP. 41.

30 *primorum ordinum centurionibus*] cf. n. on 40 *omnium ordinum centurionibus.*

egerunt] jn. *egerunt cum tribunis* 'treated with their tribunes', almost = 'besought their tribunes'.

32 *neque de summa belli*] 'nor had thought that the supreme decision as to the conduct of the war rested with themselves rather than with their commander'. With *summa belli*, cf. such phrases as *summa imperii*, *summa rerum*, VII. 20, 57, etc.; in V. 11 Caesar writes *summa imperii bellique administrandi*, cf. B. C. I. 36.

p. 25. 1 *ex aliis*] this use of *alii* almost in the sense of *ceteri omnes* is noticed by Dräger Hist. Synt. § 55, who quotes the usage from Terence, Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, but remarks that it is absent from Cicero.

2 *ut...duceret*] the clause depends loosely on *itinere exquisito* 'having found out the route, viz. that he should lead'.

circuitu] Napoleon is no doubt right in his view that the circuit of 50 or 60 miles means the détour, which it would be necessary to make from the straight line of march in order to avoid the narrow valley of the Doubs. In point of fact the route which would have to be taken to turn the mountain range extending from Besançon to Montebéliard is about 50 miles in length.

3 *locis apertis*] abl. of direction used with verbs of motion, R. § 1176: 'by open ground'.

6 *abesse*] *abesse* may be used with the accusative or ablative of the distance: in the former case the acc. is one of extension, so common in phrases relating to time, as *multos menses* 'for many months'. Cf. 22 (end); V. 53, etc., R. § 1086: in the latter case the abl. is one of amount or difference, and may be regarded as of an instrumental character, cf. R. § 1204, who quotes the present passage; cf. also 22 (beg.); 48, etc.

CHAP. 42.

8 *quod antea*] in or. rect. this would be somewhat as follows: *quod (whereas) antea de colloquio postulavisti, id per me facere licet, quoniam*

propius accessisti, idque me sine periculo facere posse existimo. se is required twice in this sentence, though only actually expressed once: '(he says) that he thinks (*se existimare*) that he can (*se posse*) do it', etc.: the *se* in the text is probably intended to go with *posse*, there are many instances of its omission with a principal verb in or. obl. Cf. 17, 31, etc.

11 *ad sanitatem reverti*] 'return to a sound mind', 'return to one's senses', cf. VII. 42 *ut facinore admisso ad sanitatem reverti pudeat;* VIII. 22 *ad sanitatem perductos.* Bell. Alex. 24 *cives ad sanitatem revocaret.*

14 *pertinacia desisteret*] 'desist from his obstinacy': *pertinacia* is usually perseverance in a *bad* course, *perseverantia* perseverance in a *good* course, Cic. de Inv. II. 164; Varro de l. Lat. V. 2 *in quo non debet pertendi et pertendit pertinaciam esse: quod, in quo oporteat manere, si in eo perstet, perseverantia sit:* from Cic. Part. Orat. 65 one may gather that the distinction of meaning between these two words was often discussed.

21 *causa*] 'hindrance'.

Gallorum equitatui] Caesar had levied 4000 cavalry in Gaul; cf. 15.

23 *equis*] this word depends on *detractis; omnibus* agrees with *Gallis equitibus.*

eo] 'thereon', that is, on the horses; cf. 51; VII. 58; B. C. III. 24.

25 *si quid opus facto esset*] cf. R. § 1255, where the usage is discussed more fully than in Dräger or Madvig. *quid* is probably an accusative.

26 *non irridicule*] 'wittily enough': the word is said not to occur elsewhere.

28 *pollicitum*] the joke lies in the 'double entendre': *ad equum rescribere* might mean either 'to degrade to the rank of cavalry', or 'to advance to the rank of *equites*', which in earlier times, when the cavalry consisted of *equites Romani*, amounted to the same thing, whereas in Caesar's army there was no Roman cavalry. As a *cohors praetoria* (cf. 40 end) they were degraded by being turned into a cavalry regiment, while as *legionarii milites*, which was their real position, they were honoured by being advanced to the dignity of *equites*. This, if I understand him aright, is the meaning attached by Kraner to the passage. The soldier's wit seems scarcely deserving of Caesar's commendation.

CHAP. 43.

30 *planities*] it is agreed by Napoleon and A. v. Kampen that this is in all probability the open ground near Cernay (Sennheim), a town in Elsass, situated on the Thur, a small affluent of the Ill, between the latter river and the Vosges, and at a distance of eight or nine miles from Mühlhausen. In this plain are several rounded hills (*tumuli*) which would answer the description given by Caesar. Kampen doubtfully selects as the scene of the colloquy an elevation situate midway between the villages of Sulz and Feldkirch, about eight miles N.E. of Cernay. He says that Napoleon gives an incorrect representation of this district in map 6 of his atlas. Caesar's camp was probably placed

between the Thur and the little Doller, a short distance to the west or south-west of Cernay.

33 *quam equis vexerat*] 'which he had put on horseback'. *equo vectus* (sometimes *vehens*) = 'riding'.

p. 26. 4 *postulavit*] we may infer from Caesar's silence that he made no objection to this very reasonable request.

5 *rex*] cf. 35.

7 *pro magnis hominum officiis*] 'in return for great services on the part of the recipients'.

9 *aditum neque causam postulandi*] for *aditus* with a genitive cf. V. 41 *aditum sermonis* and B. C. I. 74: 'right of approach', hence, as we say, 'ground to go on', 'justification', 'excuse': in B. C. I. 31 we find *nanctus aditus ad ea conanda.*

10 *beneficio ac liberalitate*] so far as these words differ at all here, *beneficium* is rather the concrete act of kindness, *liberalitas* the abstract feeling of kindness that prompted the act. In later Latin *liberalitas* sometimes means 'a gift'.

17 *sui nihil deperdere*] 'lose none of their own position'. For *non modo...sed* cf. n. on 20.

18 *auctiores*] the comparative of *auctus* is rare; it is quoted from Plautus, Lucretius, Horace and Livy. For the sentiment here expressed Kraner qu. Liv. XXXVII. 35 *praeter consuetudinem perpetuam populi Romani augendi omni honore regum sociorum maiestatem.*

20 *in mandatis*] 'among his instructions', cf. 35. Kraner's objection to this rendering seems puerile.

CHAP. 44.

24 *virtutibus*] 'good deeds', 'merits'.

28 *ipsis*] the Gauls themselves.

p. 27. 2 *de stipendio recusare*] cf. Cic. Verr. II. I. 6 *desinemus nos de iudiciis transferendis recusare.* (Dräger.)

9 *impugnandae*] the word occurs again in III. 26.

11 *defenderit*] *defendere bellum* 'to keep off (*fend* off) war', 'act on the defensive', whereas *bellum inferre* is to 'act on the offensive'. Cf. Horace Carm. I. 17 *defendit aestatem capellis | usque meis pluviosque ventos.* Cf. II. 29.

12 *quam populum Romanum*] observe that Caesar might have written *quam populus Romanus* sc. *venisset*, but the clause is attracted into the accusative and infinitive by the oblique structure of the rest of the sentence; cf. such irregularities as *me non multo minorem quam Laelium* in Cic. Ep. Fam. V. 7.

14 *quid sibi vellet cur...veniret*] 'what was his object in coming?' Kraner divides the sentence into two questions *quid sibi vellet? cur... veniret?*

15 *provinciam*] 'this Gaul (Gallia independently of the *provincia*) belongs to us (*suam*) just as that Gaul (the province) belongs to you Romans' (*nostram*=*Romanam*).

18 *se*] *se* is here equivalent to *nosmet ipsos*: 'so the Romans (we) are acting unfairly in intruding themselves (ourselves).'

27 *hoste*] notice the omission of *pro* before *hoste*.

quod si eum] 'if I were to kill you I should do a deed grateful to' etc.

29 *id se*] 'this I have ascertained from the chiefs themselves by means of their envoys, and I could purchase the gratitude and friendship of all of them at the price of your death'.

p. 28. 1 *sine ullo*] 'without putting you (Caesar) to any difficulty or danger'.

CHAP. 45.

2 *in eam sententiam...quare*] tr. freely: 'to show why'.

6 *Arvernos et Rutenos*] the Ruteni occupied a district corresponding more or less closely with the department of Aveyron. Their chief town was Segodunum, now Rhodez, on the river Aveyron. The campaign here alluded to occurred in 121 B.C.; cf. Liv. Epit. 61 *Q. Fabius Maximus consul, Pauli nepos, adversus Allobrogas et Bituitum Arvernorum regem feliciter pugnavit. ex Bituiti exercitu occisa milia CXX; ipse cum ad satisfaciendum senatui Romam profectus esset, Albam custodiendus datus est, quia contra pacem videbatur ut in Galliam remitteretur. decretum quoque est, ut Congonnetiacus filius eius conprehensus Romam mitteretur. Allobroges in deditionem recepti.* After slaughtering 120000 men and carrying away their king and his son the Roman people forgave the survivors and abstained from imposing a tribute on them! This battle appears to have been fought at Vindalium near Avignon. Fabius gained the cognomen *Allobrogicus* in consequence of this victory. Cf. Mommsen III. Bk. IV. c. 5.

8 *neque in provinciam redegisset*] yet a part of the Ruteni dwelt within the limits of the Roman province, for in VII. 7 Caesar speaks of *Ruteni provinciales*. Cf. in particular Desjardins II. 281. *neque redegisset*=*et quos non redegisset*, *quos* having to be supplied from the previous *quibus*.

12 *suis legibus uti*] this is the usual phrase to express the condition of those communities whose internal administration was independent of Roman control, the *liberae et immunes civitates*: cf. VII. 76 *quibus ille pro meritis civitatem eius immunem esse iusserat, iura legesque reddiderat.* The corresponding Greek expression is αὐτονομία. These communities had not complete freedom of legislation; they could only preserve such laws, customs and institutions as were not opposed to the general *lex*, or constitution given them by the conquerors at the time of their organization as a conquered district: this was sometimes expressly stated in their constitution: cf. *lex de Termessibus 'suis legibus ita utunto...quod adversus hanc legem non fiat'*.

CHAP. 46.

14 *propius...conicere*] it should be noticed that the sentence consists of two clauses with no connecting copula (i) *propius...adequitare*, (ii) *lapidis...conicere;* of these the first is subdivided into two parts *accedere et adequitare.*

16 *facit...recepit*] the change of tense is noticeable; it is not infrequent in animated narration.

20 *per fidem*] *per* is here used to express the ground or occasion of deception. Caesar had given them a pledge and he did not wish them to be taken in through their confidence therein. The meaning of *fides* fluctuates between 'an assurance given' and 'an assurance felt', hence it is sometimes 'pledge', 'word of honour', sometimes 'faith', 'trust' etc. I see no reason to suspect the genuineness of the text.

21 *elatum est*] 'it got abroad'.

23 *interdixisset*] *interdicere* usually, as here, takes a dative of the person forbidden and an ablative of the forbidden place (*omni Gallia*) or action.

24 *ut*] 'how'.

CHAP. 47.

27 *coeptae*] for this passive use of *coepi* cf. II. 6; IV. 18 (twice). Dräg. H. S. I § 92, Madvig Kleine Philologische Schriften 363.

neque]=*neque tamen.*

29 *minus vellet*] a little less precise than *nollet.*

legatis] see appendix.

p. 29. 2 *Procillum*] cf. 19.

5 *qua multa*] these words refer to *linguae:* 'which Ariovistus employed to a great extent'.

6 *in eo*] 'in his case': tr. 'because in his case the Germans had no motive for wrong-doing'.

11 *conclamavit*] 'cried aloud', more emphatic than *clamavit: con* in composition sometimes merely adds a notion of completeness to the simple verb.

CHAP. 48.

14 *consedit*] possibly near the village of Hartmannsweiler, about a mile south of Sulz: this would be on the lower slopes of the Vosges (*sub monte*).

16 *castra fecit*] the position now taken by Ariovistus was, according to Kampen, just above the small town of Schweighausen, on the north bank of the little Doller about two miles south of Cernay (Sennheim): Napoleon makes him encamp a little more to the eastward. Kampen objects to the circuitous route which Napoleon represents Ariovistus to have taken from his position near Sulz to that now described. He considers it more probable that the Germans marched in a tolerably

straight line, along a road of which there appear to be some traces still left.

18 *supportaretur*] the subjunctive is used because this is a subordinate relative clause. *supportabatur* would have been equally correct, but then the clause *qui...supportabatur* would have been an *independent* remark of the writer, not influenced by the rest of the sentence. It should be noticed how often the preposition *sub* adds the notion of 'assistance' to the simple verb, e.g. *subvenire* 'to come to one's assistance', *supportare* 'to carry to one's assistance', *succurrere*, *suppetere*, *submittere*, *subministrare* etc.: cf. *subsidium*.

23 *genus hoc erat pugnae*] a similar practice obtained among the Gauls: cf. VII. 18.

26 *cum his versabantur*] 'with these they were associated'.

27 *si quid erat durius*] cf. V. 29 *si nihil esset durius*, tr. 'in case of any difficulty'.

29 *si quo*] *quo* is the adverb of direction.

CHAP. 49.

p. 30. 2 *idoneum locum*] this locality is probably to be sought between the little Doller and the great Doller, on some rising ground about half way between the villages of Nieder Aspach and Michelbach, about two miles south of Caesar's original camp (cf. 43) called *castra maiora* to distinguish it from this the *castra minora*.

acie triplici instructa] cf. n. on 24.

3 *primam et secundam...iussit*] a similar distribution of forces is mentioned in B. C. I. 41 *prima et secunda acies in armis permanebat, post hos opus in occulto a tertia acie fiebat*.

5 *passus sexcentos*] this is an accusative of extent with *abesse* (cf. n. on 41) and is not governed by *circiter* which is used independently as in the similar expression above *circiter passus DC ab eis locum delegit*, and in the next sentence *circiter hominum numero XVI milia* where *milia* is nominative. In the next chapter *circiter* governs the accusative *meridiem*.

8 *secius*] for the derivation of this word cf. n. on IV. 17.

CHAP. 50.

18 *ad vesperum*] *vesperum* is more common than *vesperam* in such phrases as this, though *vespera* is more frequent than *vesper*.

23 *matresfamiliae*] cf. Tac. Hist. IV. 61 *vetere apud Germanos more quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas*; Germ. 10 *vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam, sed et olim Albrunam et complures alias venerati sunt non adulatione nec tanquam facerent deas*. Schweizer-Sidler qu. Thierry 'dans un état exalté de l'âme il arrivait souvent aux femmes Germaines de prendre la parole en vers improvisés ou dans un langage plus poétique et plus modulé que le simple discours. On en trouve une

foule d'exemples dans les sagas, qui sont le monument le plus complet des anciennes mœurs Germaines'.

sortibus] for their method of proceeding cf. Tac. Germ. 10: the marks cut upon the twigs were no doubt runes, as Kraner suggests.

24 *ex usu*] 'advantageous': cf. R. § 1941 where a number of similar phrases are collected.

CHAP. 51.

28 *alarios*] 'auxiliaries': the *socii* were usually distributed on the wings of two combined legions, and so consisted of an *ala dextra* and an *ala sinistra:* the men composing an *ala* are called *alarii.* Caesar put forward his auxiliaries en masse to mask his weakness in regular troops.

33 *generatim*] 'according to their tribes': so in VII. 19 the Gauls were *generatim distributi in civitates.*

p. 31. 1 *Harudes*] cf. n. on 31.

Marcomanos] the name Marcomani does not appear to denote a distinct people: the word is said to mean 'border-warriors'. 'When Caesar mentions Marcomanni among the peoples fighting in the army of Ariovistus, he may in this instance have misunderstood a merely appellative designation, just as he has decidedly done in the case of the Suebi'. Mommsen IV. 232 n.

Triboces] the Triboces, 'hillmen', appear to have dwelt between the Vosges and the Rhine. Breucomagus (Brumat) was one of their strongholds.

Vangiones] this tribe dwelt in the neighbourhood of Worms, the old name of which was Vangiones, and still earlier, Borbetomagus.

2 *Nemetes*] this people is said to have inhabited the left bank of the Rhine about Spires.

Sedusios] little or nothing is known as to the locality of this tribe.

Suebos] cf. IV. 1, and Mommsen quoted above.

redis et carris] *reda* is a fourwheeled, *carrus* a twowheeled, vehicle. Both words are Keltic.

4 *eo*] 'thereon', cf. 42.

5 *passis manibus*] 'with outstretched hands'; some late editions have *crinibus.* Cf. II. 13, VII. 48.

CHAP. 52.

6 *singulis*] Caesar means that, of his six legions, one was commanded by a *quaestor* and each of the remaining five by a *legatus.* It was only under the Empire that the legion was regularly commanded by a *legatus.* The *quaestor* was properly a financial functionary; Caesar had only one at a time with him in Gaul: cf. V. 25: supra 21.

8 *eam partem*] i.e. the part of the enemies' lines opposite his own *right wing, in other* words, their left wing.

10 *ita*] *ita* is not used to connect this sentence with the preceding ('and so'), but is to be taken closely with *acriter* and is the antecedent to *ut*: 'our men charged so vigorously... that' etc.

11 *procurrerunt*] the form *procurri* is more frequent than *procucurri*.

15 *reperti sunt*] this incident reminds one somewhat of the patriotism of the Swiss hero Arnold von Winckelried.

16 *desuper vulnerarent*] I imagine the meaning to be that the Roman literally leapt upon his antagonist, tore aside his shield with one hand, and with the other inflicted a downward blow with his short sword (*gladius*). See appendix.

20 *P. Crassus*] son of M. Licinius Crassus the triumvir.

CHAP. 53.

25 *quinque*] this is the reading of the MSS. Napoleon (followed by Kampen) relying on the testimony of Orosius and Plutarch reads *quinquaginta*, supposing that the Germans did not take the direct route to the Rhine which is nearly 20 miles from Cernay but followed the valley of the Ill, in which direction they had come, and crossed the Rhine somewhere near Rhinau. Göler on the contrary retains *quinque*, and imagines Caesar to mean the Ill which is a tributary of the Rhine.

28 *Ariovistus*] we learn from V. 29 that Ariovistus died soon after this.

30 *duae uxores*] polygamy was rare among the Germans. Tac. Germ. 18 says *prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur*.

33 *duae filiae*] the plural is subdivided by *altera...altera*, and the verb *capta est* is constructed with the second *altera*; thus *duae filiae* is almost a *nominativus pendens*. Caesar might equally well have written *ex duabus harum filiis altera occisa altera capta est*. See appendix.

p. 32. 2 *trinis*] 'triple'.

7 *neque...quicquam*] = *et quod nihil*, 'and because fortune had not diminished aught of the great pleasure and congratulation consequent on the victory by any injury to him'.

CHAP. 54.

14 *quos Ubii*] on the text of this passage cf. appendix.

17 *maturius*] Napoleon's calculations make it probable that the defeat of Ariovistus took place in September.

19 *citeriorem Galliam*] Gallia cisalpina.

ad conventus agendos] this is usually Caesar's professed object in visiting Italy during the intervals of his Gallic campaigns; his real object was of course to watch political events at Rome. Cf. my n. on V. 1 and VII. 1. Plutarch Caesar 20 says 'having effected these things he left his forces to winter among the Sequani, while he himself,

anxious to observe events at Rome, went down (κατέβη i.e. from the Alps) into Gaul around the Padus, which formed a part of the consular province given him. For the river Rubicon separates the rest of Italy from the Keltic land beneath the Alps. There he stationed himself and courted popular favour (ἐδημαγώγει), while many persons visited him, whose several requests he granted, and sent them all away either already possessed of his benefits or hoping to receive them. And throughout the whole course of his campaign, unsuspected by Pompey, he was ever at one time overthrowing the enemy by the arms of the citizens, at another, taking and subduing the citizens by money drawn from the enemy'.

BOOK II.

CHAP. 1.

p. 33. 3 *certior fiebat*] 'he was from time to time informed'; the imperfect of repeated action like *afferebantur*.

4 *dixeramus*] the perfect tense is more usual in expressions of this kind, as above, *demonstravimus;* cf. however 24, 28, IV. 27. For the statement in question cf. I. 1, with notes.

6 *omni Gallia*] all Keltic Gaul: the abl. abs. is equivalent to *si omnis Gallia pacaretur.*

10 *ferebant*] one would have expected *ferrent* and below *studerent* and *possent*, the verbs of subordinate relative clauses in or. obl. being usually in the subjunctive, but Caesar is here gradually and as it were insensibly passing from or. obl. to or. rect., for it will be noticed that above *quod* (because) is followed first by the subjunctive *sollicitarentur* but afterwards by the indicative *occupabantur.*

11 *mobilitate et levitate animi*] Caesar frequently alludes to the fickle character of the Gauls: with this passage cf. IV. 5.

13 *conducendos*] *conducere* is here 'to hire', in the next chapter it is used in its ordinary sense of 'gather together': the present passage shows how easily the one meaning passes into the other.

14 *eam rem*] i.e. kingly power.

imperio nostro] 'if our rule were established': ablative of attendant circumstances, cf. I. 18 *imperio populi Romani.*

CHAP. 2.

16 *duas legiones*] these legions were the XIIIth and XIVth.

17 *inita aestate*] Kraner remarks that Caesar never has *ineunte aestate.*

qui deduceret] for the position of the relative which here precedes its logical antecedent *Q. Pedium legatum* cf. I. 21 *qualis esset natura montis...qui cognoscerent, misit.*

18 *Q. Pedium*] Suetonius (Caes. 83) says that Q. Pedius was a grandson of Caesar's sister. Napoleon says that he was her son and yet refers to Suetonius as his authority. Mr Long thinks, on chronological grounds, that Suetonius is wrong and that Pedius was Julia's son. He was consul B.C. 43 and died during his tenure of office.

19 *ad exercitum venit*] probably at Vesontio (Besançon) the chief town of the Sequani.

20 *Senonibus*] the Senones occupied a large district around Agedincum (Sens) which was their chief stronghold.

24 *dubitandum non existimavit quin*] for *quin* with *dubito* ('hesitate') in a negative sentence cf. B.C. III. 37 *sibi dubitandum non putavit quin;* cf. B.C. III. 23 *non cunctandum existimavit quin.* See Mr Reid's n. on Cic. de Senect. 16. Schneider qu. by Long says, *non dubitare* with infinitive expresses the absence of hesitation in act, *non dubitare* with *quin* and subjunctive expresses the absence of hesitation in forming a decision.

25 *diebus circiter quindecim*] Caesar would probably travel, says Napoleon, through Langres, Bar-sur-Aube and Vitry-le-François in the neighbourhood of which he would arrive at the Belgic frontier; the distance from Besançon to Vitry is about 145 miles.

CHAP. 3.

p. 34. 1 *de improviso*] cf. *de subito* (sometimes written as one word), *de integro*, *de novo* (*denuo*) etc.: the preposition *ex* is often used in the same way, *ex inopinato*, *ex integro*, *ex facili* etc., so in Greek *ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου.*

2 *celerius omni opinione*] 'quicker than any could expect'.

Remi] the district occupied by this people corresponds roughly speaking to the departments of Marne and Ardennes. Their chief town Durocortorum afterwards called Remi is the modern Rheims.

4 *primos civitatis*] the same expression occurs again in 13.

8 *imperata facere*] the usual terms for submission to a superior power.

10 *cis Rhenum*] 'on this (i.e. the Gallic) side of the Rhine'.

12 *Suessiones*] this people gave its name to Soissons originally Noviodunum. Strabo says that they ranked among the Belgians next to the Bellovaci in bravery.

15 *potuerint*] the subject is, of course, Remi: they could not deter the Suessiones from joining the Belgic confederacy.

CHAP. 4.

17 *possent*] *posse* is sometimes used in the sense of 'to be powerful', cf. I. 18, and this is the usual meaning of the present participle *potens* 'powerful': in the present passage *quid possent*='in what degree they were powerful', 'what power they had', cf. 8.

18 *Belgas*] for the origin of the Belgae cf. I. 1.

19 *ibi*] 'in their present position'.

21 *Teutonos Cimbrosque*] for these events cf. Momms. III. 189, 190.

24 *sumerent*] this represents a present subjunctive in the actual words of the report given to Caesar '*qua ex re fit ut sumant*' which in or. obl. becomes *qua ex re fieri (dicebant) ut sumerent.*

26 *propinquitatibus affinitatibusque*] 'ties of kinship and affinity': *propinqui* are blood relations (*cognati*), *affines* relations by marriage, the *cognati* of husband and wife. Cf. Mr Long's note.

28 *plurimum Bellovacos valere*] this agrees with the testimony of Strabo. They were situated between the coast and the Oise: their name survives in Beauvais: Bratuspantium (Breteuil) was one of their towns.

32 *suos finitimos*] neighbours of themselves, the Remi, into whose mouth this report is put. Had Caesar meant that the Suessiones were neighbours of the Bellovaci he would have written *eorum* or *eis* for *suos*.

p. 35. 1 *Divitiacum*] it is scarcely necessary to say that this is a different person from the Aeduan Divitiacus mentioned in the next chapter.

3 *Britanniae*] this is not to be understood of the whole of Britain; the authority of Divitiacus was probably confined to what Caesar calls the *maritima pars* of the island: cf. IV. 12.

7 *Nervios*] cf. 15.

8 *Atrebates*] the town of Arras, formerly called Nemetocenna, in Artois owes its name to this people.

Ambianos] the Ambiani occupied both banks of the Somme and gave their name to Amiens which was originally called Samarobriva.

9 *Morinos*] the Morini (*extremique hominum Morini* Verg. Aen. VIII. 727) occupied the coast from Boulogne to Antwerp.

Menapios] this tribe inhabited the district lying between the Scheldt and the Rhine; we learn from IV. 4 that there were some of them dwelling on the right bank of the latter river.

10 *Caletos*] the Caleti occupied the department of Seine inférieure. St Vallery en Caux appears to preserve a trace of their name.

Veliocasses] they also dwelt on the north bank of the Seine; their chief town was Rotomagus (Rouen); their name may survive in the district of Vexin.

Viromanduos] the Viromandui (cf. Vermandais a district of St Quentin) dwelt east of the Atrebates, south of the Nervii.

11 *Aduatucos*] this tribe is to be sought east of the Nervii between Brussels and Spa. In 29 Caesar gives an account of their origin.

Condrusos] the Condrusi occupied the right bank of the Meuse and both banks of the Ourthe, and were situated south of Aix la Chapelle.

Eburones] the Eburones dwelt between the Meuse and the Rhine, north of Aix la Chapelle: they were clients of the Treveri: cf. IV. 6.

Caeroesos] this tribe, which is not elsewhere mentioned in Caesar, seems to have been situated on the right bank of the Ourthe below the Condrusi.

12 *Paemanos*] the Paemani occupied a district south of the Aduatuci between the Meuse and the Ourthe.

qui...appellantur] this is a remark of the writer's, and is not a part of the report of the Remi, hence the indicative.

arbitrari] *se* must be supplied.

CHAP. 5.

14 *liberaliter oratione prosecutus*] 'having treated them to a gracious speech'. Caesar's 'graciousness' is immediately followed by a demand for hostages, as in IV. 18 *liberaliter respondit obsidesque ad se adduci iubet. prosequi aliquem aliqua re* lit. 'to accompany' or 'escort a person with something', hence 'to honour', cf. Nägelsbach Lat. Stil. § 108.

15 *senatum*] Caesar borrows a title of the Roman constitution to describe the Gallic parliament; cf. 28 *senatores*.

18 *magno opere...quanto opere*] the repetition is unpleasant and is a mark of hasty writing.

26 *Axonam*] the Aisne: this river did not actually form the limit between the Remi and the Suessiones, but was sufficiently near the border to justify Caesar in saying that it was *in extremis Remorum finibus*.

28 *castra*] recent excavations have shown clear traces of this camp; it was situated on a slight eminence between the Aisne and the Miette about a mile to the north-east of Berry-au-Bac. 'This hill, called Mauchamp, is of small elevation (about 25 mètres) above the valley of the Aisne, and in its length from east to west it presents sufficient space for the Roman army to deploy. Laterally, it sinks to the level of the surrounding ground by slight undulations, and the side which looks upon the Miette descends by a gentle slope towards the banks of the stream'. (Napoleon.)

29 *essent*] Caesar might have written *erant* 'those places which were (as a fact) behind him'; *quae essent* rather means 'such places as were'.

32 *praesidium*] the intrenchments of this tête-du-pont are said to be still clearly visible at Berry-au-Bac.

33 *in altera parte*] on the south bank, Caesar being on the north bank. A *castellum* seems to have been constructed for Sabinus and his cohorts, cf. 9 *castellum cui praeerat Q. Titurius*. A. v. Kampen naturally expresses his surprise at Napoleon's having omitted to mark this *castellum* on his map.

p. 36. 2 *duodeviginti pedum*] 18 feet broad. The excavations made on the site of the camp have proved the correctness of Caesar's description; the depth of the fosse appears to have been about 10 feet. The 'chiasmus' or inverted order should be noticed in this sentence (*pedum XII vallo fossaque XVIII pedum*), cf. 12 *propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem;* VII. 77 *fama nobiles potentesque bello*. Kenn. L. Gram. Appendix F.

munire iubet] the object of *iubet* is omitted here as often, cf. V. 33.

CHAP. 6.

3 *Bibrax*] as Caesar's camp is admitted to have been situated near the village of Berry-au-Bac, the site of Bibrax must be sought at a distance of 8 Roman miles therefrom. Göler places it at Beaurieux, a small village about a mile from the north bank of the Aisne, and at about the requisite distance from Berry-au-Bac; others, Napoleon, Kampen, etc., prefer Vieux Laon, a small waste plateau, about 12 miles east of Laon. The latter view finds the most adherents.

4 *ex itinere*] 'on their way'.

7 *moenibus*] *moenia* are 'the fortifications' generally and are therefore virtually equivalent to the *murus* mentioned immediately after: *totis moenibus* is an ablative of place 'the whole length of the fortifications'.

8 *coepti sunt*] cf. I. 47.

9 *testudine facta*] the men of the advancing column held their shields with a forward slope over their heads in such a way as to present to the besieged a continuous and impenetrable roof which from a fancied resemblance in use or appearance to a tortoise-shell received the name of *testudo*. The manoeuvre is fully described by Livy XXXIV. 39.

portas succendunt] I doubtfully follow Vielhaber in retaining the *succendunt* of the MSS. He quotes VII. 11 *Caesar legiones...portis succensis intromittit;* the reading also derives some slight confirmation from the statement in 7 *omnibus vicis aedificiisque quos adire poterant incensis;* if they set fire to so many other places it is only natural to suppose that they tried to do so to Bibrax; that they did not succeed in burning down the gates may be gathered from the fact that no mention is made of the besiegers actually forcing an entrance. The present tenses *succendunt*, *subruunt* may very well mean 'attempt' or 'begin to fire the gates and undermine the wall'. Kraner and Long read *succedunt*, and the former omits *portas* and aptly quotes Sall. Iug. 57 *alii succedere et murum suffodere.*

12 *nulli*] the word is made emphatic by its position at the end of the sentence.

14 *tum praefuerat*] the pluperfect *praefuerat* with *tum* = *qui praepositus erat et tum praeerat* (Kraner).

CHAP. 7.

17 *eo*] to Bibrax.

18 *Numidas*] Numidae is a corruption of the Greek word Νομάδες 'nomads', 'wanderers', a title applied to certain roving tribes in North Africa. Plin. V. 3 *Numidia est Masinissae clara nomine Metagonitis terra a Graecis appellata, Numidae vero Nomades a permutandis pabulis, mapalia sua, hoc est domos, plaustris circumferentes;* cf. Horace's *campestres melius Scythae | quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos | vivunt* (Carm. III. 24. 9). They were a very hardy people, cf. Appian ἴσασι δε καὶ λιμὸν φέρειν οἱ Νομάδες οἴδε καὶ πόᾳ χρῆσθαι πολλάκις ἀντὶ σίτου· καὶ τὸ πάμπαν ὑδροποτοῦσιν, ὅ τε ἵππος αὐτοῖς κριθῆς μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως

γεύεται, ποηφαγῶν ἀεί, πίνει δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ. The same author says that the Numidians were μακροβιώτατοι: the extraordinary vigour of their famous king Masinissa is attested by Polybius XXXVII. 10. The Numidians in Caesar's army were light-armed foot-soldiers, not cavalry, cf. 10, 24. Numidia was constituted a Roman province after the battle of Thapsus in 46.

Cretas] the Cretans were famous for their archery, and, it may be added, for their knavery, cf. Ep. Tit. i. 12 Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί (quoted from the Kretan Epimenides), Plutarch Aemil. 23 πρὸς Κρῆτα κρητίζειν 'to outwit a knave'. Pompey had a detachment of Cretan archers in his army during the civil war; B. C. III. 4. Crete was conquered by L. Caecilius Metellus (thence called Creticus) and made a Roman province in 67.

19 *Baleares*] the Baliaric islands, Majorca and Minorca, were conquered in 123 by Q. Caecilius Metellus, who thence gained the cognomen of Balearicus.

22 *potiundi oppidi*] this expression taken in connexion with III. 6 *potiundorum castrorum* implies, as Kraner points out, that *potiri* is here to be considered as governing an accusative; in III. 24 it is used with an ablative *victoria*, and possibly in I. 3, where see note.

25 *ab*] 'at a distance of'. Cf. 30 *ab tanto spatio* 'so far off'. The Belgae were encamped in a long line between Vieux Laon and Berry-au-Bac.

CHAP. 8.

29 *eximiam opinionem virtutis*] 'their remarkable reputation for valour'. Cf. 24 *quorum virtutis opinio est singularis.*

proelio supersedere] *proelio* is probably the ablative, though the dative is sometimes found with *supersedeo*, as in Bell. Afric. 75 *supersedeo pugnae:* cf. R. § 1212.

30 *quid...posset*] 'what the enemy could do in the way of valour'; for this use of *posse* cf. 4 and below *quod tantum multitudine poterant.*

32 *loco opportuno*]=*cum locus esset opportunus.*

p. 37. 2 *adversus*] 'in face'. Caesar appears to be regarding his position from his enemies' point of view who could see a long stretch of hill side over against them (*adversus*), and so uses the word *adversus* in describing it, heedless of the difficulty thereby caused to readers who have not the ground before them.

4 *lateris deiectus*] 'a falling away of the side' expresses a steeper slope than the following *leniter fastigatus.*

in fronte] Caesar seems to mean the north-east front or face of the hill which is a long ridge between two and three miles in length running south-west and north-east; it was on this, the higher end, that Caesar's camp was placed.

5 *ab utroque latere*] Caesar does not express himself very clearly, but his language does not appear to be irreconcileable with the existing traces

of the fortifications as shown in Napoleon's atlas. The ditches in question started from opposite corners of the encampment; one was a continuation down the north slope of the hill of the ditch flanking the *agger* on the south-west side of the camp, the other a continuation down the south slope of the hill of the similar ditch flanking the earthwork of the opposite north-east face of the camp. This lower fosse crossed the present bed of the Aisne which used to flow in a tolerably straight line parallel to, and at a regular distance of about one kilomètre from, the hill on which Caesar was encamped, but now bends inward in a half circle just at the foot of that part of the hill on which the Roman camp stood; thus the redoubt at the end of the ditch stood about half-way between the old and new river beds. The object of these fosses was to prevent the enemy from turning the right of the Roman position and getting round between them and the Aisne.

6 *transversam*] 'at right angles', i.e. to the line of the hill.

obduxit] *obducere* is 'to draw in front', 'draw forward', as a protection or barrier; hence the word often means 'to cover' or 'conceal'.

7 *castella*] each fosse had a *castellum* or redoubt at the end of it.

tormenta] *tormentum* is any kind of engine or appliance for throwing missiles.

11 *si quo*] 'whithersoever': *quo* is an adverb of direction.

12 *pro castris*] on the north-west front of the hill, between it and the little river Miette. The Belgic forces were drawn up on the opposite side of the Miette.

CHAP. 9.

14 *palus*] the marshy ground through which flows the above-mentioned stream la Miette.

15 *si...exspectabant*] 'were waiting to see if our men would cross'.

18 *inter duas acies*] *inter* appears to be used in its strictly local sense; if so, Kampen is wrong in marking the locality of the equestrian engagements higher up the stream.

20 *secundiore*] 'the cavalry skirmish having resulted favourably for the Romans'.

25 *pontem*] the bridge at Berry-au-Bac where Titurius Sabinus was stationed with six cohorts; cf. 5.

26 *si minus potuissent*] 'if they should prove unable', above *si possent* 'if they were able'.

CHAP. 10.

30 *pontem traducit*] Caesar's camp, it will be remembered, was on the north bank of the Aisne, about a mile to the eastward of the bridge at Berry-au-Bac, while the enemy were trying to cross from the north to the south bank, a mile or two to the westward of the bridge: Caesar accordingly sends his cavalry over the bridge to the south bank to oppose the enemy on crossing.

p. 38. 4 *neque nostros...progredi*] = *et nostros non progredi.*

6 *coepit*] four consecutive words here begin with *c* and three of them with *con*. I have noticed a similar instance of κακοφωνία in VII. 29.

7 *constituerunt optimum esse...et convenirent*] observe the change of construction after *constituerunt* from acc. and inf. *optimum esse* to the subjunctive *convenirent* with *ut* omitted: 'they determined that it was best...and that they should assemble'. Pluygers suggests *convenire.*

13 *finibus Bellovacorum*] probably they had got as far as the Marne which they would have to cross before reaching the land of the Bellovaci.

15 *neque...ferrent*] = *et ut suis auxilium non ferrent.*

CHAP. 11.

17 *cum...peteret*] 'each one seeking for himself' etc.

19 *consimilis fugae*] *fugae* may be genitive, see my n. on V. 53 end; yet in V. 12, VI. 27 *consimilis* is evidently followed by a dative, as Kraner points out.

20 *Caesar*] the position of the nom. *Caesar* in the middle of the abl. abs. should be noticed, cf. V. 49; VII. 1, 6.

speculatores] these appear to have been irregular scouts, while the *exploratores* mentioned afterwards formed in all likelihood regularly organised and mounted detachments. (From Kraner's Einleitung.)

21 *discederent*] this must not be translated as if it were *discessissent.*

29 *ab extremo agmine*] 'in the extreme rear'; for this use of *ab* cf. *ab novissimis, a tergo* 'in the rear', etc.

30 *consisterent*] the subject of *consisterent,* viz. *ei,* must be supplied from the relative *quos.*

p. 39. 1 *tantam spatium*] *tantus ... quantus* are used because Caesar implies that the number of men slain was proportioned to the space of time during which the slaughter could go on; they slew as long as there was light; lit. 'they slew so great a multitude as there was space of day'.

CHAP. 12.

5 *priusquam...reciperent*] 'before they should recover': the subjunctive serves to denote the intention of the subject of the principal sentence: 'before they did recover' would require *recipiebant.* Cf. n. on IV. 4.

7 *magno itinere confecto*] the expression is a strange one, considering the context: Kraner brackets *confecto.* Perhaps, as Vielhaber suggests, this word is to be explained by the consideration that 'we occasionally find *ablativi consequentiae* formed with the participle perfect to express a circumstance which does not precede but accompanies or follows the main action' Madvig L. G. § 431 obs. 2: in the present passage the forced march is not *prior* to his hastening to Noviodunum but *synchronous with it,* 'Caesar hastened to Noviodunum making a forced

march'. It is suggested by Schneider that Caesar only reached the boundaries of the Suessiones on the first day, and then on the following day hastened (*contendit*) to Noviodunum, and that the *magnum iter* refers to the first stage of the journey from Berry to the border line of the Suessiones; but, as Mr Long points out, this interpretation seems scarcely to accord with the words of the text.

8 *Noviodunum*] two other places of this name are mentioned in the B. G., cf. VII. 12, 55. It is generally supposed that our Noviodunum occupied the site of the town of Soissons though Desjardins hesitates to affirm this: M. Peigné-Delacourt places it at Noyon where there are clear traces of a Gaulish *oppidum*, but the distance of this place from Berry-au-Bac, between 40 and 50 Roman miles, adds greatly to the difficulties of the narrative; besides, as Desjardins says, Caesar would in that case have mentioned the passage of the Oise. The Suessiones had 12 *oppida* and it is probable that more than one of these may have been named Noviodunum which appears to be equivalent to the name now so common in this part of France 'Neuf-chateau'; cf. such widespread names as Neapolis, Newtown, Newton, Neuville, Neustadt, etc.

ex itinere] *ex* seems to denote here the immediate sequence of the events; no sooner was the march ended than the siege began.

9 *vacuum ab defensoribus*] this usage is also found in Cicero and Tacitus, cf. B. G. III. 1, B. C. III. 3 *spatium vacuum a bello.*

audiebat] 'he was told', probably on several occasions, hence the imperfect.

10 *latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem*] for this inversion of words, called by the grammarians chiasmus from an imaginary resemblance to the introversion of the two lines of the Greek letter X, cf. supra 5 (end).

paucis defendentibus] 'though it had only a few defenders', a concessive abl. abs.

11 *castris munitis*] 'having made an entrenched camp'.

vineas agere] 'to move up penthouses'; *agere* = 'to advance', 'push forward'. For the construction of the *vineae* cf. my n. on VII. 17.

12 *comparare coepit*] Soissons is about 28 miles from Berry-au-Bac. It would appear from Caesar's language that he marched from Berry to Noviodunum in one day and on his arrival found time to begin the construction of his military engines.

13 *ex fuga*] the use of *ex* is similar to that noticed above in the phrase *ex itinere;* they stayed their flight and collected at Noviodunum. Göler is no doubt right in saying that the fugitive Suessiones crossed the river and entered the town on the north side which Caesar had not invested.

14 *aggere iacto*] 'an earthwork having been constructed': compare a similar use of *iacere* in the common phrase *iacere fundamenta* 'to lay a foundation'.

18 *conservarentur*] *conserventur* would be more regular, but the other verbs in the sentence being historic, presents are virtually equivalent to past tenses.

impetrant] 'they gain their request'.

CHAP. 13.

19 *primis civitatis*] 'the chief men of the state'; so in 3.

23 *Bratuspantium*] it is now generally agreed that Bratuspantium was near the modern Breteuil in the department of Oise, perhaps at Montdidier.

28 *accessisset...poneret*] observe the change of tense, 'when he had approached the town and was pitching his camp'.

29 *passis manibus*] cf. I. 51 where some late editions have *crinibus*, VII. 47, and 48 where Caesar says *matres familiae suos obtestari et more Gallico passum capillum ostentare coeperunt* and Verg. Aen. I. 480; there is no doubt however about the correctness of *manibus;* cf. B. C. III. 98 *passis palmis*, so Lucr. V. 1200, Verg. Aen. III. 263.

CHAP. 14.

32 *fecit verba*] 'spoke': distinguish between *verbum facere* 'to utter a word' (generally in a negative or quasi-negative sentence) and *verba facere* 'to talk' or 'speak': the difference is clearly marked in Cic. Verr. IV. 147 *antequam verbum facerem* 'before I should utter a word' and a few lines further on *quod ego in senatu Graeco verba fecissem.* Cic. p. Rosc. Am. 2 and 28; Terence Andria 177.

p. 40. 5 *Britanniam*] even thus early political refugees found a shelter in Britain.

7 *sua*] 'his well-known clemency and compassion': the same expression occurs again in 31.

8 *quod si fecerit*] in or. rect. *si haec facies, amplificabis.*

9 *si qua*] 'to support (the burdens of) whatever wars may have occurred'.

10 *consuerint*] the infinitive *consuesse* would have done equally well, only in that case the clause would have been rather less closely connected with the previous clause than it now is, cf. my n. on IV. 7. Cicero's treatment of these subordinate relative clauses exhibits a similar irregularity, cf. Mr Reid's n. on Cic. Lael. 45.

CHAP. 15.

honoris Divitiaci causa] 'out of respect for Divitiacus'. For the common use of *honoris causa* in mentioning a living person by name cf. Halm on Cic. Phil. II. 30 (ed. Mayor).

11 *in fidem recepturum*] 'receive under his protection'; this is only a *polite way of saying* that he would receive their submission.

15 *Ambianorum*] cf. n. on 4. There can be little doubt but that Caesar passed through Samarobriva (Amiens) the chief stronghold of the Ambiani. Göler places Samarobriva at Bray. The name means "Bridge of the Samara" (Somme).

17 *Nervii*] the Nervii occupied the districts of Bavay, Hainault and Brabant. They were of Germanic origin; cf. Tac. Germ. 28 *Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tanquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur.* Bagacum, now Bavay, was their chief *oppidum*.

19 *nihil pati vini*] with this compare Caesar's account of the Germans IV. 2 *vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur.* On the text of this passage see appendix.

23 *qui se dedidissent*] 'for having surrendered themselves'; *qui* is causal. *proiecissent* 'flung away'.

24 *confirmare*] with this verb *se* must be supplied; the following *sese* belongs to *missuros.*

CHAP. 16.

26 *triduum*] acc. of duration of time; 'when he had marched for three days'. Caesar might equally well have written *tridui* depending on *iter* 'a march of three days' duration'. Caesar's route probably lay through Camaracum (Cambrai) and Bagacum (Bavay).

27 *Sabim*] the Sambre: the *m* appears in the name as early as the 4th cent. in the adjective *Sambricus.*

28 *trans id flumen*] it is generally supposed that the Nervii were encamped on the rising ground at the back of the village of Hautmont about two miles south-west of Maubeuge. The river lay between the Romans and the Nervii.

33 *in eum locum*] perhaps near Thuin, where there is still much marshland, a few miles north-east of Hautmont on the right bank of the Sambre. Napoleon says at Mons at the confluence of the Haine and the Trouille about ten miles north of Hautmont.

CHAP. 17.

p. 41. 6 *eorum consuetudine*] notice the strange accumulation of genitives; *eorum dierum* and *itineris* both depend on *consuetudine* while *exercitus nostri* is the genitive after *itineris;* cf. III. 18 *superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio*, I. 19 *sine eius offensione animi.*

8 *impedimentorum*] 'beasts of burden'.

11 *sarcinis*] *sarcinae* is the baggage carried by the soldiers themselves, while *impedimenta* is the heavy baggage, tents, machines etc. Each man had to carry, in addition to his weapons and armour, some stakes (*valli*, cf. Hor. Epod. IX. 13 *fert vallum et arma miles*) for the construction of ramparts, saw, basket, spade, hatchet, cooking apparatus with provisions, usually for a fortnight. (From Kraner's Einleitung.)

14 *cum...possent*] 'since they had no effective mounted force'.

15 *ei rei*] 'this branch of the service'.

16 *sed*] 'but all their strength lies in their infantry'.

18 *teneris...interiectis*] I adopt Schneider's text, which Long follows, and to a certain extent his explanation. The trees had their tops lopped off when young (*teneris*); this made the branches grow out thickly sideways (*crebris in latitudinem ramis enatis*), these branches were then interlaced (*inflexis*. Schneider says *inflexis quod de binis binarum arborum sibi adversis et in semet incurrentibus ramis accipiendum eandem significationem habet quam implicatis seu implexis:* the interweaving of the branches of two opposite trees cannot at least be inferred from Caesar's account), the intervals were then filled up with thornbushes by which a compact and impenetrable hedge was formed. See appendix.

20 *instar*] *instar* is probably an indeclinable noun in apposition to *munimenta*. See appendix.

21 *non modo non*] some editors omit the second *non*. It should be remembered that *non modo* can only stand for *non modo non* when a negative follows, as here *ne quidem*. Madv. on Cic. Fin. I. 10.

CHAP. 18.

24 *loci*] it is generally agreed that the high ground between the villages of Neuf-Mesnil on the north, and Hautmont on the south, bank of the Sambre, about two miles south-west of Maubeuge, was the spot selected for the Roman camp. On the right or south bank of the river between the villages of St Remi-mal-Bâti and Louvroil is another hill named after the village of Hautmont.

27 *acclivitate*] as Mr Long says, *acclivitas* denotes the upward, *declivitas* the downward, slope of a hill.

adversus huic et contrarius] 'opposite to this and corresponding to it'. *contrarius* does not add much to the idea contained in *adversus*.

28 *infimus*] 'at its base'. Caesar means, I think, that the slope was bare of trees for the first 200 paces, not that there was an extent of open ground 200 paces in width before one came to the slope.

29 *introrsus perspici*] for *perspici* with adverb of direction (*introrsus* =*introversus*), cf. 17 *quo non modo non intrari sed ne perspici quidem posset*.

30 *silvas*] a considerable part of the hill is still occupied by the Bois du Quesnoy.

31 *stationes*] 'outposts', 'videttes'.

32 *videbantur*] a true passive of *video*, 'were seen'.

CHAP. 19.

p. 42. 1 *ratio ordoque*] 'general method and arrangement', cf. 22 *rei militaris ratio atque ordo*.

aliter ac Belgae detulerant] 'different from what the Belgae had told', 'different from the description given of it by the Belgae'.

2 *hosti*] see appendix.

5 *duae legiones*] the XIIIth and XIVth, cf. 2; for the *funditores* and *sagittarii* cf. 10.

9 *identidem*] 'repeatedly'.

10 *quem ad finem*] = *ad eum finem ad quem*. tr. lit. 'nor did our men venture to pursue them in their retreat further than to the limit to which the stretch of open ground (*loca aperta porrecta*, the open ground outstretched) extended'. *ad finem* follows both *porrecta* and *pertinebant*.

14 *in silvas*] these words must be taken with *abditi* and not with *latebant*: 'who having hidden themselves in the wood were lying concealed'.

16 *ut constituerant*] 'just as they had formed in line', 'with the very formation that they had adopted within the woods and according to their mutual resolve': the sentence scarcely admits of a literal translation; the general sense is 'they sallied forth (*provolaverunt*) just as they were', i.e. without altering their formation. Cf. 23 *ut constiterant*. See appendix.

21 *in manibus nostris*] we should say 'close at hand', 'just upon us'. Cf. Verg. G. I. 45 *in manibus terrae*.

CHAP. 20.

24 *vexillum*] the *vexillum*, a red flag, was raised on or near the general's tent as a signal for the men to hold themselves in readiness: cf. B.C. III. 89 *se vexillo signum daturum*, bell. Alex. 45 *vexillo sublato quo pugnandi dabat signum* (Kraner).

25 *signum tuba dandum*] this was a signal for the soldiers to fall in.

27 *aggeris*] *agger* is here used of the material of which the earthwork was constructed; for this meaning cf. B. C. I 42 *quod longius erat agger petendus*; in Greek χοῦς as opposed to χῶμα the completed mound.

28 *milites cohortandi*] the exhortation was, if possible, never omitted; cf. Cic. Phil. V. 11 *faciam igitur ut imperatores instructa acie solent: quanquam paratissimos milites ad proeliandum videant, ut eos tamen adhortentur*.

signum dandum] the signal for the battle to commence: cf. 21 *proelii committendi signum dedit*.

29 *temporis brevitas*] in 21 and 33 we find *temporis exiguitas*.

30 *subsidio*] almost = 'remedy'. Kr. qu. B. C. III. 70 *his tantis malis haec subsidia succurrebant*.

p. 43. 1 *legatos*] it should be remembered that the *legati* were not at this time permanently attached to the legions as they subsequently became.

4 *quae videbantur*] 'what appeared (to them) needful' 'the needful operations'.

CHAP. 21.

5 *necessariis rebus imperatis*] 'having issued instructions for the necessary measures'.

6 *quam in partem fors obtulit*] cf. VII. 87 *cohortes quas ex proximis praesidiis deductas fors obtulit. quam in partem = in eam partem quam.* The IXth and Xth legions were on the left, cf. 23.

7 *devenit*] *devenio* expresses 'coming by chance', cf. below *quam quisque in partem casu devenit.*

8 *suae*] 'their well-known'.

10 *sustinerent*] *ut* must be supplied with this verb from the preceding clause; for the structure of the sentence cf. V. 34 *ut coniciant neu... accedant et...cedant;* B. C. III. 92 *ut...exciperent neve...moverent aciemque...paterentur.*

quam quo] = *quam ut eo.*

11 *adigi*] so Madvig (Adv. II. 251 sqq) for the *adiici* of the MSS: cf. n. on IV. 23.

12 *alteram partem*] 'the opposite direction', opposite, that is, to the direction in which he had gone before. He now came to the XIIth and VIIth legions: cf. 23.

13 *pugnantibus occurrit*] 'he finds them already in action'.

15 *insignia accommodanda*] 'putting on ('fitting') their decorations'.

induendas] when on the march the Roman soldier carried his helmet suspended from his arm or over his back.

16 *tegimenta detrudenda*] 'thrusting off the coverings'. Both the Greeks and Romans had leather coverings for their shields, cf. Xen. An. I. 2 16, Cic. N. D. II. 37.

tempus defuerit] 'they *had* found no time'; the perfect *defuerit* cannot be adequately represented except by a pluperfect in English. A soldier entering upon an engagement may say to himself 'the enemy are so near that I *have found* no time to put on my helmet' or 'the enemy are so near that I *find* no time', etc.; so a subsequent narrator of the event may say 'the enemy were so near that the soldier *has found* (*defuerit*, 'had found' suits the English idiom better) no time', etc. or 'the enemy were so near that the soldier *found* no time', etc., in this latter case he would write *deesset*, which Caesar might very well have done here.

CHAP. 22.

20 *deiectusque collis*] cf. 8 *collis lateris deiectus habebat. deiectusque collis* is merely a farther definition of *loci natura* as Kraner points out and is not a separate independent enuntiation; this is sufficiently shown by the *que.* The student should remember the following rule 'when three or more coordinate words or clauses have to be stated, either (i) no conjunction is put as A, B, C, or (ii) each is connected with the preceding, as A *et* B *et* C, or (iii) the conjunction is omitted with the first members and *que* is annexed to the last as A, B, C*que:* thus A, B*que et* C would be quite unclassical, at least in prose. R § 2202.

22 *diversae legiones*] see appendix. for *diversas* in the sense of 'scattered' 'parted' cf. 24 *diversos dissipatosque.*

25 *quid opus esset*] cf. n. on I. 42.

CHAP. 23.

29 *acie*] this is probably a genitive after *parte*. A. Gellius IX. 14 says that Caesar in his book *de analogia* expresses his opinion that the genitives *die* and *specie* should be used. cf. R. § 357. But *acie* might very well be an ablative here 'in line' 'in their ranks'.

33 *transire non dubitaverunt*] cf. n. on 2 *dubitandum non existimavit quin*.

p. 44. 3 *diversae*] 'apart from each other'.

4 *ex loco superiore*] to be taken with *profligatis*.

9 *summam imperii*] 'the chief command', cf. n. on I. 41.

11 *summum castrorum locum*] the height occupied by the camp.

CHAP. 24.

13 *quos pulsos dixeram*] Caesar means 'who *had* been repulsed, as I *have* said' but by a slight confusion of thought and expression he writes 'whom I *had* described as repulsed'. This, no doubt correct, explanation of the pluperfect is given by Kraner and Vielhaber, cf. I, 28, IV. 27 *quem demonstraveram praemissum* 'who had been sent forward as I have shown'.

14 *adversis hostibus occurrebant*] it would appear that before the Roman cavalry who had engaged the enemy on the right bank of the river and had been thrown into disorder and dispersed (19) could recross the river and return to the camp, the Nervii had already crossed the stream lower down and were attacking the camp on the high ground (*summum castrorum locum* 23), consequently the cavalry on their return met ('ran up against' *adversis occurrebant*) the enemy who had crossed before them.

15 *fugam petebant*] *fugam petere*, as Schneider shows, is more common in poetry than in prose. Cf. Liv. IX. 23.

calones] 'suttlers' 'camp-followers'.

16 *decumana porta*] the Roman camp was always constructed on definite principles. It was in the form of a square through which ran the *via principalis* terminating in the *porta principalis dextra* and the *porta principalis sinistra;* the gates on the other two opposite sides were called respectively the *decumana* and the *praetoria porta*. In the present case the *decumana porta* was on the side of the camp farthest removed from the river.

17 *transisse conspexerant*] 'had seen that they had crossed'.

20 *qui cum impedimentis veniebant*] it will be remembered that the *impedimenta* were coming up under the convoy of the two recently levied legions the XIIIth and XIVth; it was when they first appeared in sight that the enemy began their attack, 19.

22 *quorum...singularis*] 'whose valour is in high repute among the Gauls': cf. 8 *propter eximiam opinionem virtutis*.

CHAP. 25.

30 *Caesar...profectus*] the narrative takes us back to 21 where we read *atque in alteram* (*i.e. dextram*) *partem item cohortandi causa profectus pugnantibus occurrit.*

32 *signis*] apparently the colours of the several cohorts; see below on *signiferoque interfecto.*

33 *ad pugnam impedimento*] cf. n. on I. 25, where the same phrase occurs.

p. 45. 1 *omnibus centurionibus*] there were 6 *centuriae* in a cohort, each commanded by a *centurio.*

signiferoque interfecto] it is concluded from this passage that every cohort had a special *signum*, though the fact is not elsewhere mentioned in writers before the Empire (Kraner): cf. Nipperdey on Tac. An. I. 18. Each *manipulus* had a *signum* of its own, cf. Varro l. lat. v. 88 *manipulos exercitus minimas manus, quae unum sequuntur signum.*

4 *primipilo*] the first centurion of the first cohort was called *primipilus.* Baculus was not killed, as we learn from III. 5.

6 *deserto loco*] 'having quitted their posts': see appendix. *ab novissimis* 'in the rear', so again, a few lines on.

7 *neque...et*] so in Greek οὔτε...τε are often used, 'the enemy did *not* cease...*and* were pressing'.

9 *vidit*] this, like the *vidit* in line 1, follows on *ubi.* The greater part of this chapter from the beginning to *uti possent* consists of one long sentence made up of a protasis *ubi suos...submitti posset* and an apodosis *scuto...uti possent*, to which also belong the words *Caesar...profectus* at the beginning of the chapter: thus the second *vidit* would have been sufficient by itself, but the insertion of the first *vidit* makes the sentence easier to understand.

10 *ab novissimis militi*] 'from a soldier in the rear ranks': see appendix.

13 *manipulos laxare*] 'open out the ranks of the maniples'.

16 *operam navare*] *navare* originally *gnavare* means 'to make known' 'to exhibit'; *operam navare*, lit. 'to exhibit zeal', may be translated 'to do one's best': the word is connected etymologically with γιγνώσκω and its kindred words, cf. *ignavia* = ἄγνοια. Cf. Liv. VII. 16 *fortiter in acie operam navaturos.* Tacitus with his usual audacity of expression ventures on *bellum navare*, Hist. v. 25.

CHAP. 26.

18 *septimam legionem*] this was one of the legions on the right wing exposed to the assaults of the Nervii.

20 *conversa signa*] cf. I. 25. Caesar placed the two legions back to back, as it were, so that they fronted opposite ways; hence the words *conversa signa* though applied to the two legions are only strictly applicable to one of them. This is Schneider's explanation, accepted by Kraner but

not by Long (App. 2), whose explanation (taken from Roesch) of the movements of the two legions is almost too elaborate to be probable.

24 *in novissimo agmine*] 'in the extreme rear of the line of march'.

25 *praelio...incitato*] 'having quickened their pace on receiving intelligence of the battle'.

26 *Titus Labienus*] it will be remembered that the IXth and Xth legions, the latter commanded by Labienus, had driven the Atrebates in confusion across the river. Caesar now says that they had succeeded in taking the enemies' entrenchments on the hill of Hautmont, and from this position they were able to see how their comrades were faring across the river.

32 *nihil...fecerunt*] lit. 'left nothing undone to effect speed' 'made all possible haste': the phrase *reliqui facere* is only used with a negative.

CHAP. 27.

33 *qui procubuissent*] a little less definite than *qui procubuerant.*

p. 46. 3 *inermes*] in I. 40 the form *inermus* is used.

6 *in extrema spe salutis*] this occurs again in 33, 'in their utter despair of safety' (or 'success').

13 *quae...redegerat*] cf. IV. 3 *hos Suebi multo humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt*, the only other instance of this use of *redigere=reddere* that I can find quoted from any classical author; *redigere aliquem ad aliquid* 'to reduce a person (or thing) to' is common enough; see beginning of next chapter.

CHAP. 28.

15 *ad internicionem*] cf. I. 13. Notwithstanding this great defeat the Nervii were able to furnish 5000 fighting-men in the war of independence B.C. 52: cf. VII. 75.

nomine] 'power' as in the common expression *nomen Romanum.*

17 *aestuaria*] the word is defined by Festus as meaning those places *quae mare vicissim tum accedit tum recedit:* if this is universally correct and *aestuaria* here really denotes 'inlets' or 'creeks', and not merely 'marshes', it will be necessary to suppose that the Nervii had deposited their non-combatants somewhere near the estuary of the Scheldt: cf. n. on 16.

coniectos dixeramus] cf. n. on 24 *quos pulsos dixeram.*

22 *LX*] the Nervii had promised 50000 men at the beginning of the war, cf. 4.

vix ad quingentos]=*ad vix quingentos:* cf. I. 6 *vix qua singuli,* III. 4 *vix ut rebus.*

25 *uti*] 'retain possession of'.

26 *ut...prohiberent*] 'to stay themselves and their adherents from doing any injury or harm to them', (the conquered Nervii).

iniuria et maleficio] these words are thus united in I. 79.

A brief recapitulation of the chief incidents of this battle may be useful. The two armies were encamped on rising ground on opposite sides of the Sambre near Maubeuge, the Belgae on the SE., the Romans on the NW., bank. The Atrebates occupied the right of the Belgic position, to one looking towards the river, the Viromandui the centre and the Nervii the left. The right of the Roman position (opposite the Nervii) was occupied by the VIIth and XIIth legions, the centre by the VIIIth and XIth, the left (opposite the Atrebates) by the IXth and Xth; the XIIIth and XIVth were in charge of the baggage-train some distance behind. The battle began by the Roman cavalry crossing the river and engaging the Belgic cavalry. While these were skirmishing the Belgae caught sight of the Roman baggage-train appearing some way off over the crest of the opposite hill: acting on a preconcerted plan they at once broke from their positions, scattered the Roman cavalry, crossed the river and burst with terrific fury upon the Roman legions on the opposite side. The latter, encouraged by Caesar, sustained the attack as well as they could. Soon the IXth and Xth succeeded in driving back the Atrebates across the river, crossed it themselves and attacked and actually occupied the Belgic camp: about the same time the VIIIth and XIth had driven the Viromandui down the slope and were fighting on the banks of the river; thus the whole of the front and left of the Roman position was left unprotected. The Nervii seeing this divided their attack, their right making an assault on the front of the Roman camp, while their left went to the left of the VIIth and XIIth legions (with whom it will be remembered that the Nervii were engaged) in order to take them on their right and exposed flank (*latus apertum*). At this time the XIIIth and XIVth were coming up behind at a rapid pace, and, besides this, Labienus with the IXth and Xth on the opposite bank, seeing the critical state of affairs, hastened to recross the river. This double succour in front and behind completely turned the day, and the Nervii notwithstanding their magnificent bravery were utterly routed.

CHAP. 29.

29 *ex itinere*] 'stayed their march and returned home'.

31 *unum oppidum*] Göler has concluded with great probability that the site of this oppidum is to be found on the hill Falhize, a steep and rocky plateau on the north bank of the Meuse, just opposite the town of Huy in the province of Liège, about halfway between Namur and Liège, and close to the junction of the small river Mehaigne with the Meuse. This hill, of an oblong shape, is steep and almost inaccessible on the SE. and SW. sides; on the NW. side the ground is less precipitous, being broken by a few ravines, while on the NE. the plateau, instead of terminating in an abrupt fall, has a gently-descending slope for some little distance, after which the ground again rises till it merges with the range of hills covered with the Bois du Huy; the width of this end where the slope begins is about 230 feet; this is a sufficiently near approximation to the width of 200 feet given by Caesar. Across the plateau are some slight earthworks, marking no doubt the line of the *double wall flanked by a ditch* which the besieged constructed.

33 *despectusque*] cf. VII. 36 *collibus occupatis qua despici poterat*, 79 *erat ex oppido Alesia despectus in campum.* See appendix.

p. 47. 2 *duplici altissimo muro*] 'with a double wall of great height'.

3 *praeacutas*] 'sharpened at the end' 'pointed'.

4 *prognati*] "the word which occurs again in VI. 18 is poetical and in the older prose is only found in Cael. ap. Cic. Fam. VIII. 15" (Kraner).

5 *iter in provinciam*] in B.C. 102; cf. Momms. III. 90.

6 *agere ac portare*] these two words are also found together in B.C. II. 25 *animadvertit multa undique portari atque agi plenissimis viis quae repentini tumultus timore ex agris in urbem conferantur.* Gaius says *ferri proprie dicimus quae quis suo corpore baiulat, portari ea quae in iumento secum ducit, agi ea quae animalia sunt;* this distinction though far from universally valid may possibly apply here; or we may perhaps regard the phrase as an example of those pairs of words in which each word merges its independent meaning in the general signification given by the two combined: cf. *καλὸς κἀγαθός*, *agere vertere*, *fusus fugatus*, *purus putus*, 'safe and sound', etc.

7 *custodiam*] 'custodians'; 'together with these (*una*) they left a guard (*praesidium*) of 6000 men'.

10 *alias...alias*] 'at one time'...'at another time'.

defenderent] 'ward off'; cf. n. on I. 44.

CHAP. 30.

14 *vallo...circummuniti*] *pedum* should no doubt be read with the inferior MSS for *passuum*: 'the natural line of circumvallation which touches the river at both ends is exactly 15000 *pedes* long' (A. v. Kampen): it is noticeable that Caesar says nothing about a river, but would rather lead us to infer that the town was completely surrounded by the wall in question.

16 *vineis actis*] the *vineae* (cf. 12) were pushed forward to serve as protections for the men while engaged in constructing the *agger*, which was a raised dam begun some little distance from the *oppidum* and carried up to it at right angles. The object of the dam was to serve as an inclined platform up which the *turris* was to be wheeled till it was brought near enough to command the town.

turrim procul constitui] 'a tower in course of erection some distance off'.

18 *quod*] 'at the idea of so great a contrivance being set up so great a distance off'. The thought of the Gauls, not merely an actual fact, has to be expressed, hence the subjunctive *instrueretur* instead of *instruebatur*.

19 *praesertim*] the word qualifies *homines tantulae staturae*, 'men too of such little stature', or 'especially as they were men of such little stature'.

20 *omnibus Gallis*] all the Gauls without exception, whether Belgae, Celtae or Aquitani. *plerumque* 'as a rule': for *plerumque omnibus* Schneider, qu. V. 57, *equites plerumque omnes*.

22 *in muro se posse*] Caesar, as Long remarks, seems to represent the Gauls as crying derisively, 'how are such little fellows going to lift that tower on to our wall?' as though suggesting with some irony that the only possible way of taking so strongly fortified a place would be to put the tower on the top of the *duplex murus*. See appendix.

CHAP. 31.

25 *locuti*] this is not for *locuti sunt*, but is the participle.

existimare] *se* must be supplied, as also with the verbs *permittere* and *petere ac deprecari*.

29 *petere ac deprecari*] *petere* is simply to make a request, *deprecari* is to beg a person not to do something; our 'deprecate' does not cover quite the same ground as *deprecari:* tr. 'beg as a favour'.

pro...mansuetudine] the same phrase has already occurred in 14.

30 *audirent*] =*audimus*, in or. rect. *statuisset*=*statueris*.

33 *traditis armis*] =*si traderentur arma*.

possent] *posse* would have done equally well, cf. n. on 14 *consuerint*.

CHAP. 32.

p. 48. 5 *si prius, quam*] Kr. qu. Cic. de Off. I. 35 *tum ei qui armis positis ad imperatorum fidem confugient, quamvis murum aries percusserit, recipiendi*. Cicero would have been less rigorous than Caesar in dealing with a besieged foe.

10 *facere dixerunt*] 'they said that they were doing'; *facere* must not be translated as if it were *facturos*. *imperata facere* is the regular term for surrender.

12 *muri aggerisque*] *murus* is the wall of the *oppidum*, *agger* the Roman earthwork which had been advanced up to the brink of the fosse: the deep ravine-like space between the two was nearly filled up with the Gallic weapons.

CHAP. 33.

19 *praesidia*] they thought the Romans would remove the sentinels from the *vallum* and *castella* forming the line of circumvallation, or that at any rate a less vigilant watch would be kept.

21 *scutis...intextis*] as Kraner points out, it is not clear whether *intextis* agrees with *scutis* and *ex* is to be supplied with *viminibus*, the meaning then being 'shields made of bark or woven out of osiers', or whether *viminibus intextis* is an ablative absolute, in which case tr. 'shields made of bark or by the interlacing of osiers'.

23 *qua minime arduus*] we do not know where the Gauls intended to break through the Roman line of circumvallation. We gather from the present passage that most of the encompassing lines was on high ground, otherwise the Gauls could not be said to have looked out for a spot where the ascent was least difficult. Of course the first thing for the Gauls to do was to descend from their own stronghold; this they might do by the ravines on the north-west face of the hill.

26 *ex proximis castellis*] there were *castella* at short intervals along the whole line of circumvallation.

27 *eo*] to the place threatened.

28 *ut a viris fortibus pugnari debuit*] 'as brave men were bound to fight'.

29 *iniquo loco*] ablative of attendant circumstances: the ground was unfavourable to the Gauls because of the ascent required before they could reach the Roman lines.

contra eos, qui] 'against assailants who': the statement is perfectly general, hence the subjunctive *iacerent*.

turribusque] the *castella* previously mentioned; quite different from the *turris mobilis* (cf. 30) with which the Romans were going to besiege the town.

30 *cum in una...consisteret*] Caesar seems to have forgotten that he had already said *in extrema spe salutis*.

31 *ad*] *ad* is here adverbial = 'about'.

p. 49. 1 *sectionem oppidi universam*] 'the whole booty of the town without exception'. *sectio*, properly 'division', came to be applied to booty that was sold and 'divided' among the conquerors.

2 *numerus*] *numerus* is followed here by a double genitive, *capitum* and *milium*, as in I. 29, where see note.

CHAP. **34**.

3 *Venetos*] a powerful maritime state who occupied the region now comprised in the department of Morbihan. They broke out into revolt and were subdued by Caesar in the following year, B.C. 56. Cf. III. 8 for some account of their power: they possessed several islands off the coast *insulas complures Venetorum quae et Veneticae appellantur*, Plin. IV. 19, 2 quoted by Desjardins. Their name survives in Vannes.

Venellos] this, and not *Unellos*, is shown by Glück to be the proper spelling. The district occupied by this tribe corresponds more or less with the department of Somme in the north-west of Normandie.

Osismos] the habitation of this tribe is to be sought in the department of Finisterre.

Curiosolitas] the name of this people may still be traced in the town of Corseul in the department of Côtes du Nord. Near Corseul are the remains of a Roman temple, the Fanum Martis. The name Curiosolitae has been found on an inscription discovered at Corseul: this should be substituted probably for Curiosolites in VII. 75.

6 *Esuvios*] this spelling is found on some small Gallic coins discovered in Jersey. Their name is still traceable in Essey. Their territory corresponded to the central and western part of the departments of Calvador and Orne. Desjardins thinks that Bayeaux (Augustomagus) was within their limits.

Aulercos] of this important family there were three main branches, the Aul. Diablintes in western Maine, the Cenomani in eastern Maine, and the Aul. Eburovices in the neighbourhood of Evreux in the department of Eure. It is to these last that Caesar here alludes. Those who wish to know more of this tribe, the history of which is somewhat obscure, should consult Desjardins II. 490 sqq.

Redones] a tribe in the neighbourhood of Rennes (which is named after them) in the department of Ille-et-Vilaine.

CHAP. 35.

10 *belli opinio*] 'so high an estimate of the war', and of its serious consequences for themselves.

13 *Illyricumque*] Caesar had been entrusted in 59 B. C. with the charge of this province together with the two Gauls for a period of five years. Cf. n. on V. I.

15 *Carnutes*] an important and powerful Keltic tribe occupying a district roughly speaking coextensive with the province of Orleanais. One of their strongholds Cenabum afterwards *civitas Aurelianorum* is the modern Orleans.

Andes] these people have given their name to Anjou. The form Andecavi, or Andicavi, which Desjardins thinks is the oldest form, is found in Pliny, and also Andegavi which marks the transition to the modern Anjou.

Turones] the Turones occupied the department of Indre-et-Loire and have given their name to the department Touraine and the town Tours. In this district there are still abundant traces of the old Gaulish nomenclature; see the long list of names in Desjardins.

16 *hibernacula*] this reading has more authority than *hiberna:* "only here in Caesar. Sall. Iug. 103 *exercitu in hibernaculis composito;* Nep. Ages. 3, Eum. 8: properly 'winter-tents' 'winter encampment' (Liv. V. 2 *hibernacula aedificari coepta*) while *hiberna* is the winter-quarters generally, the place where the troops wintered". Kraner.

18 *dierum*] see appendix.

supplicatio] a solemn thanksgiving, which usually lasted for 3 or 4 days. Caesar says that a *supplicatio* of 15 days had never been granted to anyone before: in 52 one of 20 days was decreed in his honour: VII. 90. Cf. Dict. Ant. s. v.

APPENDIX.

BOOK I.

Dr ANDREAS FRIGELL, the most recent and trustworthy investigator of the codices of the Bellum Gallicum, gives the following distribution of the more important MSS in order of merit. Cf. L. Vielhaber in Zeitschrift für die Oesterreichischen Gymnasien, 1864, p. 27: H. J. Heller in Philologus XVII and XIX:

FIRST CLASS.

(*a*) Parisinus (P), the tenth, or possibly the end of the ninth, century.
Romanus (R), the tenth, or the beginning of the eleventh century.

(*b*) Amstelodamensis (A), same date as Parisinus.
Moysiacensis (M), the twelfth century.

To this class may also be added:
Vossianus (V), the eleventh century?
Codex mutilus, the tenth century.

SECOND CLASS.

(*a*) Thuaneus (T), the twelfth century?
Leidensis (L).

(*b*) Ursinianus (U), the twelfth century?
Hauniensis (H), the fourteenth century?

THIRD CLASS.

Gottorpiensis (G).
Jadrensis (J), dated 1437.
Colbertinus (C), the fifteenth century.
Borbonianus (Borb) the fifteenth century.
Barberinianus (Barb), the fourteenth century.

P. 2, l. 28, the MSS have without exception *ad eas res conficiendas:* the repetition is intolerably harsh; I have therefore ventured to omit *conficiendas* supposing it to have crept in from the previous sentence: this is at least a gentler remedy than Frigell's who only leaves *Orgetorix sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit*, a reading which Heller appears to approve, Philologus XIX. 472.

P. 3, l. 10, according to Nipperdey A (*manu secunda*) inserts *imperio* after *potiri*. See note. Vielh. Zt XV. 29.

[illegible] allow
[illegible] he
[illegible] his
[illegible] and the
[illegible] tribes,
[illegible] give the
[illegible] of the

P. 9, l. 10, either *pabulationibus* or *populationibus* should perhaps be omitted.

P. 10, l. 10, Pluygers is perhaps right in reading *necessario rem* and removing *coactus* as a gloss.

P. 14, l. 13, *infixisset* is suggested by Hermann and supported by Köchly.

P. 14, l. 18, *spatio* is inserted after *passuum* by Dinter, Dittenberger and Holder; needlessly, I think.

P. 15, l. 2, for *rotas* Meiser and Pluygers with some probability suggest *rhedas* or *redas,* cf. 51 *aciem suam redis et carris circumdederunt.*

P. 18, l. 16, Glück, Keltische Namen 121 foll., proposes *ad Magetobrigam*, a name which he explains as = *collis amplus*, but the value of his learned discussion of the word is said to be impaired by the fact that he relied on a spurious inscription and a mistaken local identification.

P. 22, l. 5, the strange *Alduasdubis* of the MSS is due to the name *Dubis* having the alternative reading *Duas* written over against it in the margin with the syllable *al.* i.e. *alii* (sc. *scribunt*) prefixed to it. For this not infrequent cause of corruption in MSS see Frigell, vol. III. pt. I. p. 32 foll.

P. 25, l. 10, Kraffert, Whitte and Madvig prefer *existimaret.*

BOOK II.

P. 35, l. 4, *Galbam*] the Keltic and Latin proper name Galba, together with cognate words, *galbus*, *gilvus*, *bilis*, *helvus*, χόλος, *gelb*, *yellow*, probably come from √*ghar* signifying 'brightness,' and as the ideas of fatness and a smooth shining surface are easily connected (as in the Psalms: "They wax fat, they shine"), so we find the two meanings associated in this family of words, cf. Angermann, 'Die Römischen Männernamen auf *a*' in Curtius' Studien V.; Corssen, Aussprache I. 519. Suetonius (Galba 3) says that some think that the first of the Sulpician gens to bear the name was so called *quod praepinguis fuerit visus quem Galbam Galli vocant: vel contra quod tam exilis quam sunt animalia quae in aesculis nascuntur appellanturque Galbae.*

[illegible] **l. 24,** the clause *quod erat...oporteret* is ejected as spurious by [illegible]s, but without adequate reason.

[illegible] *obitum*] Kraner c[illegible] attention to the use of this word [illegible]truction of a [illegible] properly used of the death of

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DE BELLO GALLICO

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WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

THE third book of the Commentaries presents no special difficulties. In preparing my notes I have had recourse to the various editions and books of reference to which I have elsewhere expressed my obligations. A map of Gaul accompanies this edition taken on a reduced scale and with some alterations from the Atlas to Napoleon's *Histoire de Jules César*.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

BOOK III.

C. IULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARIORUM

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER TERTIUS.

1. Cum in Italiam proficisceretur Caesar, Servium Galbam cum legione duodecima et parte equitatus in Nantuates, Veragros Sedunosque misit, qui ab finibus Allobrogum et lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano ad summas Alpes pertinent. Causa mittendi fuit, quod iter per Alpes, quo magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis mercatores ire consuerant, patefieri volebat. Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in his locis legionem hiemandi causa conlocaret. Galba secundis aliquot proeliis factis castellisque conpluribus eorum expugnatis missis ad eum undique legatis obsidibusque datis et pace facta constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus conlocare et ipse cum reliquis eius legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare; qui vicus positus in valle non magna adiecta planicie altissimis montibus undique continetur. Cum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram partem eius vici Gallis ad hiemandum concessit, alteram vacuam ab his relictam cohortibus adtribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit. 2. Cum dies hibernorum conplures transissent, frumentumque eo conportari iussisset, subito per explorat

res certior factus est ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque, qui inpenderent, a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et Veragrorum teneri. Id aliquot de causis acciderat, ut subito Galli belli renovandi legionisque opprimendae consilium caperent: primum quod legionem neque eam plenissimam detractis cohortibus duabus et conpluribus singillatim, qui commeatus petendi causa missi erant, propter paucitatem despiciebant; tum etiam quod propter iniquitatem loci, cum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent et tela conicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum suum sustineri existimabant. Accedebat, quod suos ab se liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant, et Romanos non solum itinerum causa, sed etiam perpetuae possessionis culmina Alpium occupare conari et ea loca finitimae provinciae adiungere sibi persuasum habebant.

3. His nuntiis acceptis Galba, cum neque opus hibernorum munitionesque plene essent perfectae, neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset provisum, quod deditione facta obsidibusque acceptis nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato sententias exquirere coepit. Quo in consilio, cum tantum repentini periculi praeter opinionem accidisset ac iam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum completa conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent, prope iam desperata salute nonnullae huiusmodi sententiae dicebantur, ut impedimentis relictis eruptione facta isdem itineribus, quibus eo pervenissent, ad salutem contenderent. Maiori tamen parti placuit hoc reservato ad extremum consilio interim rei eventum experiri et castra defendere. 4. Brevi spatio interiecto, vix ut iis rebus, quas constituissent, conlocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus signo dato decurrere, lapides gaesaque in vallum conicere. Nostri

primo integris viribus fortiter repugnare neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere, ut quaeque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur, eo occurrere et auxilium ferre, sed hoc superari, quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes defessi proelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant; quarum rerum a nostris propter paucitatem fieri nihil poterat, ac non modo defesso ex pugna excedendi, sed ne saucio quidem eius loci, ubi constiterat, relinquendi ac sui recipiendi facultas dabatur. 5. Cum iam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur ac non solum vires sed etiam tela nostros deficerent, atque hostes acrius instarent languidioribusque nostris vallum scindere et fossas complere coepissent, resque esset iam ad extremum perducta casum, P. Sextius Baculus, primi pili centurio, quem Nervico proelio compluribus confectum vulneribus diximus, et item Gaius Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam adcurrunt atque unam esse spem salutis docent, si eruptione facta extremum auxilium experirentur. Itaque convocatis centurionibus celeriter milites certiores facit, paulisper intermitterent proelium ac tantummodo tela missa exciperent seque ex labore reficerent, post dato signo ex castris erumperent atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent. 6. Quod iussi sunt, faciunt ac subito omnibus portis eruptione facta neque cognoscendi, quid fieret, neque sui colligendi hostibus facultatem relinquunt. Ita commutata fortuna eos, qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant, undique circumventos interficiunt et ex hominum milibus amplius triginta, quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia parte interfecta reliquos perterritos in fugam coniciunt ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur. Sic omnibus hostium copiis fusis armisque exutis se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt. Quo proelio facto, quod saepius fortunam temptare

Galba nolebat atque alio se in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrisse rebus videbat, maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus postero die omnibus eius vici aedificiis incensis in provinciam reverti contendit ac nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante incolumem legionem in Nantuates, inde in Allobroges perduxit ibique hiemavit.

7. His rebus gestis cum omnibus de causis Caesar pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, atque ita inita hieme in Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat, subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est. Eius belli haec fuit causa. P. Crassus adulescens cum legione septima proximus mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemarat. Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, praefectos tribunosque militum conplures in finitimas civitates frumenti causa dimisit; quo in numero est T. Terrasidius missus in Esuvios, M. Trebius Gallus in Curiosolitas, Q. Velanius cum T. Silio in Venetos.

8. Huius est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis orae maritimae regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt et in magno impetu maris atque aperto paucis portibus interiectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerunt, habent vectigales. Ab his fit initium retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crasso dedissent, reciperaturos existimabant. Horum auctoritate finitimi adducti, ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia, eadem de causa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinent, et celeriter missis legatis per suos principes inter se coniurant, nihil nisi communi consilio acturos eundemque omnis fortunae exitum esse laturos,

reliquasque civitates sollicitant, ut in ea libertate, quam a maioribus acceperant, permanere quam Romanorum servitutem perferre mallent. Omni ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta communem legationem ad P. Crassum mittunt, si velit suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat. 9. Quibus de rebus Caesar ab Crasso certior factus, quod ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas aedificari in flumine Ligere, quod influit in Oceanum, remiges ex provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari iubet. His rebus celeriter administratis ipse, cum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit. Veneti reliquaeque item civitates cognito Caesaris adventu, simul quod, quantum in se facinus admisissent, intellegebant, legatos, quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset, retentos ab se et in vincula coniectos, pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare et maxime ea, quae ad usum navium pertinent, providere instituunt, hoc maiore spe, quod multum natura loci confidebant. Pedestria esse itinera concisa aestuariis, navigationem inpeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant, neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se morari posse confidebant: ac iam ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse, Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium neque eorum locorum, ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada, portus, insulas novisse; ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso mari atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano perspiciebant. His initis consiliis oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida conportant, naves in Venetiam, ubi Caesarem primum bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismos, Lexovios, Namnetes, Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablintes, Menapios adsciscunt; auxilia ex Britannia, quae contra eas regiones

posita est, arcessunt. 10. Erant hae difficultates belli gerendi, quas supra ostendimus, sed multa Caesarem tamen ad id bellum incitabant: iniuriae retentorum equitum Romanorum, rebellio facta post deditionem, defectio datis obsidibus, tot civitatum coniuratio, inprimis ne hac parte neglecta reliquae nationes sibi idem licere arbitrarentur. Itaque cum intellegeret omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere et ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere et condicionem servitutis odisse, priusquam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.

11. Itaque T. Labienum legatum in Treveros, qui proximi flumini Rheno sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic mandat, Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat atque in officio contineat Germanosque, qui auxilio a Belgis arcessiti dicebantur, si per vim navibus flumen transire conentur, prohibeat. P. Crassum cum cohortibus legionariis duodecim et magno numero equitatus in Aquitaniam proficisci iubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur ac tantae nationes coniungantur. Q. Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Venellos, Curiosolites Lexoviosque mittit, qui eam manum distinendam curet. Decimum Brutum adulescentem classi Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire iusserat, praeficit et, cum primum posset, in Venetos proficisci iubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit. 12. Erant eiusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in extremis lingulis promunturiisque neque pedibus aditum haberent, cum ex alto se aestus incitavisset, quod bis accidit semper horarum XII spatio, neque navibus, quod rursus minuente aestu naves in vadis adflictarentur. Ita utraque re oppidorum oppugnatio inpediebatur; ac si quando magnitudine operis forte superati, *extruso mari*, aggere ac molibus atque his oppidi moeni-

bus adaequatis, suis fortunis desperare coeperant, magno numero navium adpulso, cuius rei summam facultatem habebant, sua deportabant omnia seque in proxima oppida recipiebant: ibi se rursus isdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant. Haec eo facilius magnam partem aestatis faciebant, quod nostrae naves tempestatibus detinebantur, summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari, magnis aestibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus, difficultas navigandi. 13. Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factae armataeque erant: carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent; prorae admodum erectae atque item puppes ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque adcommodatae; naves totae factae ex robore ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam; transtra pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine; ancorae pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctae; pelles pro velis alutaeque tenuiter confectae, hae sive propter lini inopiam atque eius usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates Oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse arbitrabantur. Cum his navibus nostrae classi eiusmodi congressus erat, ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret, reliqua pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora. Neque enim his nostrae rostro nocere poterant—tanta in iis erat firmitudo—neque propter altitudinem facile telum adigebatur, et eadem de causa minus commode scopulis continebantur. Accedebat, ut, cum saevire ventus coepisset et se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius et in vadis consisterent tutius et ab aestu relictae nihil saxa et cautes timerent; quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erat extimescendus. 14. Compluribus expugnatis oppidis Caesar, ubi intellexit

frustra tantum laborem sumi neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi neque iis noceri posse, statuit expectandam classem. Quae ubi convenit ac primum ab hostibus visa est, circiter CCXX naves eorum paratissimae atque omni genere armorum ornatissimae profectae ex portu nostris adversae constiterunt; neque satis Bruto, qui classi praeerat, vel tribunis militum centurionibusque, quibus singulae naves erant adtributae, constabat quid agerent aut quam rationem pugnae insisterent. Rostro enim noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem excitatis tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat, ut neque ex inferiore loco satis commode tela adigi possent et missa ab Gallis gravius acciderent. Una erat magno usui res praeparata a nostris, falces praeacutae insertae adfixaeque longuriis, non absimili forma muralium falcium. His cum funes, qui antemnas ad malos destinabant, conprehensi adductique erant, navigio remis incitato praerumpebantur. Quibus abscissis antemnae necessario concidebant, ut, cum omnis Gallicis navibus spes in velis armamentisque consisteret, his ereptis omnis usus navium uno tempore eriperetur. Reliquum erat certamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile superabant, atque eo magis, quod in conspectu Caesaris atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur, ut nullum paulo fortius factum latere posset; omnes enim colles ac loca superiora, unde erat propinquus despectus in mare, ab exercitu tenebantur.

15. Disiectis, ut diximus, antemnis cum singulas binae ac ternae naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. Quod postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis conpluribus navibus, cum ei rei nullum reperiretur auxilium, fuga salutem petere contenderunt. Ac iam conversis in eam partem navibus, quo ventus ferebat, tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas exstitit, ut se ex loco commovere non possent. Quae

quidem res ad negotium conficiendum maxime fuit opportuna: nam singulas nostri consectati expugnaverunt, ut perpaucae ex omni numero noctis interventu ad terram pervenerint, cum ab hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum pugnaretur. 16. Quo proelio bellum Venetorum totiusque orae maritumae confectum est. Nam cum omnis iuventus, omnes etiam gravioris aetatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant, tum navium quod ubique fuerat unum in locum coëgerant; quibus amissis reliqui neque quo se reciperent, neque quemadmodum oppida defenderent habebant. Itaque se suaque omnia Caesari dediderunt. In quos eo gravius Caesar vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris ius legatorum conservaretur. Itaque omni senatu necato reliquos sub corona vendidit.

17. Dum haec in Venetis geruntur, Q. Titurius Sabinus cum iis copiis, quas a Caesare acceperat, in fines Venellorum pervenit. His praeerat Viridovix ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum quae defecerant, ex quibus exercitum magnasque copias coëgerat; atque his paucis diebus Aulerci Eburovices Lexoviique senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse nolebant, portas clauserunt seque cum Viridovice coniunxerunt; magnaque praeterea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerat, quos spes praedandi studiumque bellandi ab agricultura et cotidiano labore revocabat. Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris sese tenebat, cum Viridovix contra eum duum milium spatio consedisset cotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret, ut iam non solum hostibus in contemptionem Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur; tantamque opinionem timoris praebuit, ut iam ad vallum castrorum hostes accedere auderent. Id ea de causa facie-

bat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, praesertim eo absente qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco aut opportunitate aliqua data legato dimicandum non existimabat. 18. Hac confirmata opinione timoris idoneum quendam hominem et callidum delegit, Gallum, ex iis, quos auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque persuadet, uti ad hostes transeat, et quid fieri velit edocet. Qui ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanorum proponit, quibus angustiis ipse Caesar a Venetis prematur docet, neque longius abesse quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex castris exercitum educat et ad Caesarem auxilii ferendi causa proficiscatur. Quod ubi auditum est, conclamant omnes occasionem negotii bene gerendi amittendam non esse, ad castra iri oportere. Multae res ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio, perfugae confirmatio, inopia cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab iis erat provisum, spes Venetici belli et quod fere libenter homines id quod volunt credunt. His rebus adducti non prius Viridovicem reliquosque duces ex concilio dimittunt, quam ab his sit concessum, arma uti capiant et ad castra contendant. Qua re concessa laeti ut explorata victoria sarmentis virgultisque collectis, quibus fossas Romanorum compleant, ad castra pergunt. 19. Locus erat castrorum editus et paulatim ab imo adclivis circiter passus mille. Huc magno cursu contenderunt, ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandosque Romanis daretur, exanimatique pervenerunt. Sabinus suos hortatus cupientibus signum dat. Inpeditis hostibus propter ea quae ferebant onera subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri iubet. Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defetigatione, virtute militum et superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum ferrent ac statim terga verterent. Quos inpeditos integris

viribus milites nostri consecuti magnum numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites consectati paucos, qui ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt. Sic uno tempore et de navali pugna Sabinus et de Sabini victoria Caesar certior factus; civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt. Nam ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.

20. Eodem fere tempore P. Crassus cum in Aquitaniam pervenisset, quae pars, ut ante dictum est, et regionum latitudine et multitudine hominum ex tertia parte Galliae est aestimanda, cum intellegeret in iis locis sibi bellum gerendum, ubi paucis ante annis L. Valerius Praeconinus legatus exercitu pulso interfectus esset atque unde L. Mallius proconsul impedimentis amissis profugisset, non mediocrem sibi diligentiam adhibendam intellegebat. Itaque re frumentaria provisa, auxiliis equitatuque conparato, multis praeterea viris fortibus Tolosa et Narbone, quae sunt civitates Galliae provinciae finitimae his regionibus, nominatim evocatis in Sontiatum fines exercitum introduxit. Cuius adventu cognito Sontiates magnis copiis coactis equitatuque, quo plurimum valebant, in itinere agmen nostrum adorti primum equestre proelium commiserunt, deinde equitatu suo pulso atque insequentibus nostris subito pedestres copias, quas in convalle in insidiis conlocaverunt, ostenderunt. Hi nostros disiectos adorti proelium renovarunt. 21. Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, cum Sontiates superioribus victoriis freti in sua virtute totius Aquitaniae salutem positam putarent, nostri autem quid sine imperatore et sine reliquis legionibus adulescentulo duce efficere possent, perspici cuperent: tamen confecti vulneribus hostes terga vertere. Quorum magno numero interfecto Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sontiatum oppugnare coepit. Quibus fortiter

resistentibus vineas turresque egit. Illi alias eruptione temptata, alias cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis (cuius rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aerariae secturaeque sunt), ubi diligentia nostrorum nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt seque in deditionem ut recipiat petunt. Qua re impetrata arma tradere iussi faciunt. 22. Atque in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis animis alia ex parte oppidi Adiatunnus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum sexcentis devotis, quos illi soldurios appellant (quorum haec est condicio, ut omnibus in vita commodis una cum iis fruantur quorum se amicitiae dediderint, si quid his per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant aut sibi mortem consciscant; neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui eo interfecto, cuius se amicitiae devovisset, mori recusaret): cum his Adiatunnus eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato cum ad arma milites concurrissent vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum tamen uti eadem deditionis condicione uteretur a Crasso impetravit. 23. Armis obsidibusque acceptis Crassus in fines Vocatium et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero barbari commoti, quod oppidum et natura loci et manu munitum paucis diebus, quibus eo ventum erat, expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoque versus dimittere, coniurare, obsides inter se dare, copias parare coeperunt. Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quae sunt citerioris Hispaniae finitumae Aquitaniae: inde auxilia ducesque arcessuntur. Quorum adventu magna cum auctoritate et magna cum hominum multitudine bellum gerere conantur. Duces vero ii deliguntur, qui una cum Q. Sertorio omnes annos fuerant summamque scientiam rei militaris habere existimabantur. Hi consuetudine populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus nostros

intercludere instituunt. Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit, suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile diduci, hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis praesidii relinquere, ob eam causam minus commode frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari, in dies hostium numerum augeri, non cunctandum existimavit quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit. 24. Prima luce productis omnibus copiis duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in mediam aciem coniectis, quid hostes consilii caperent expectabat. Illi, etsi propter multitudinem et veterem belli gloriam paucitatemque nostrorum se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur obsessis viis commeatu intercluso sine ullo vulnere victoria potiri et, si propter inopiam rei frumentariae Romani sese recipere coepissent, impeditos in agmine et sub sarcinis inferiore animo adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio probato ab ducibus productis Romanorum copiis sese castris tenebant. Hac re perspecta Crassus, cum sua cunctatione atque opinione timoris hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecissent, atque omnium voces audirentur, expectari diutius non oportere quin ad castra iretur, cohortatus suos omnibus cupientibus ad hostium castra contendit. 25. Ibi cum alii fossas conplerent, alii multis telis coniectis defensores vallo munitionibusque depellerent, auxiliaresque, quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus confidebat, lapidibus telisque subministrandis et ad aggerem cespitibus conportandis speciem atque opinionem pugnantium praeberent, cum item ab hostibus constanter ac non timide pugnaretur telaque ex loco superiore missa non frustra acciderent, equites circumitis hostium castris Crasso renuntiaverunt non eadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita facilemque aditum habere. 26. Crassus equitum praefectos cohortatus,

ut magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri velit ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis iis cohortibus, quae praesidio castris relictae intritae ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumductis, ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis celeriter ad eas, quas diximus, munitiones pervenerunt atque his prorutis prius in hostium castris constiterunt, quam plane ab his videri aut quid rei gereretur cognosci posset. Tum vero clamore ab ea parte audito nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere consuevit, acrius inpugnare coeperunt. Hostes undique circumventi desperatis omnibus rebus se per munitiones deicere et fuga salutem petere intenderunt. Quos equitatus apertissimis campis consectatus ex milium quinquaginta numero, quae ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta multa nocte se in castra recipit.

27. Hac audita pugna maxima pars Aquitaniae sese Crasso dedidit obsidesque ultro misit; quo in numero fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Ptianii, Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates, Gates, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzates, Cocosates: paucae ultimae nationes anni tempore confisae, quod hiems suberat, hoc facere neglexerunt.

28. Eodem fere tempore Caesar, etsi prope exacta iam aestas erat, tamen, quod omni Gallia pacata Morini Menapiique supererant, qui in armis essent neque ad eum umquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus id bellum celeriter confici posse eo exercitum adduxit; qui longe alia ratione ac reliqui Galli bellum gerere coeperunt. Nam quod intellegebant maximas nationes, quae proelio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac paludes habebant, eo se suaque omnia contulerunt. Ad quarum initium silvarum cum Caesar pervenisset castraque munire instituisset neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in

opere nostris subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolaverunt et in nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt eosque in silvas repulerunt et conpluribus interfectis longius inpeditioribus locis secuti paucos ex suis deperdiderunt. 29. Reliquis deinceps diebus Caesar silvas caedere instituit, et ne quis inermibus inprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam, quae erat caesa, conversam ad hostem conlocabat et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat. Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus confecto cum iam pecus atque extrema inpedimenta ab nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, eiusmodi sunt tempestates consecutae, uti opus necessario intermitteretur et continuatione imbrium diutius sub pellibus milites contineri non possent. Itaque vastatis omnibus eorum agris, vicis aedificiisque incensis Caesar exercitum reduxit et in Aulercis Lexoviisque, reliquis item civitatibus, quae proxime bellum fecerant, in hibernis conlocavit.

NOTES.

BOOK III.

CHAP. 1.

p. 1. 1 The events narrated in the first six chapters of this book happened in the winter of 57-56 B.C.

2 *duodecima*] Caesar had at this time 8 legions in Gaul numbered from VII to XIV inclusive.

Nantuates] from 6 we learn that the Nantuates were situated between the Veragri, whose chief town was Octodurus (Martigny), and the Allobroges, and therefore occupied the valley of the Rhone between S. Maurice and Villeneuve. Hence it is difficult to suppose that they are identical with the tribe of the same name mentioned in IV. 10 as bordering on the Rhine near its source: see my note on that passage. M. Desjardins suggests with some probability that the original tribe may have been broken up into two portions at the time of the migration of one of the four Helvetic cantons, the pagus Tigurinus; cf. I. 12.

3 *Veragros*] Octodurus (Martigny) was the chief *oppidum* of the Veragri who appear to have been more powerful than the other neighbouring tribes and to have occupied some of the adjacent mountain region.

Sedunos] the Seduni occupied the Rhone valley in the neighbourhood of Sitten or Sion (Sedunum) where an inscription has been found bearing the words *civitas Sedunorum*. These three tribes here mentioned, together with the Viberi, formed the *civitates quatuor vallis Poeninae* of an inscription on a monument at S. Maurice erected in honour of Drusus son of Tiberius, who died 23 A.D.

5 *iter per Alpes*] the Great S. Bernard route leading from Martigny to Aosta (Augusta Praetoria Salassorum, founded 26 B.C.) by the Val Entremont and the Val du Grand S. Bernard. By *periculo* Caesar means danger from the lawless mountain tribes rather than the natural perils of the route, though one can well understand that these were considerable in days when there was no friendly hospice.

6 *portoriis*] dues levied by the mountaineers.

11 *in Nantuatibus*] possibly at Agaunum, now S. Maurice.

13 *Octodurus*] occupied apparently the site of Martigny le Bourg, about one kilomètre south of Martigny la Ville, on the banks of the Dranse.

17 *ad hiemandum*] see appendix.

ab his] the *ab* follows *vacuam* not *relictam:* 'left free from them'; cf. II. 12 *vacuum ab defensoribus*, B.C. I. 31 *vacuas ab imperiis*.

CHAP. 2.

p. 2. 4 *ut...caperent*] this clause is explanatory of *id*. *accidere* is used here as elsewhere of an unforeseen or unfavourable event.

6 *neque eam plenissimam*] 'and that not fully complete'. The reason for its not being *plenissima* is given by the following words *detractis cohortibus duabus etc.*, 'inasmuch as two cohorts had been taken from it and several individuals'. The two cohorts were stationed among the Nantuates.

7 *singillatim*] equivalent to *singulis*. Both occur in Cic. Phil. II. 92 *neque solum singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis: civitas non iam singillatim, sed provinciis totis dabatur.*

15 *finitimae provinciae*] the province of Gallia Narbonensis.

sibi] *persuasum habere* is generally used without *sibi*.

CHAP. 3.

16 *opus hibernorum*] these words denote the winter head-quarters as a whole, while *munitiones* are the several works and defences composing them.

20 *consilio*] a council of war, composed probably of the *tribuni militum* and the *centuriones primorum ordinum*, i.e. the eight centurions in command of the eight cohorts here encamped.

24 *subsidio veniri*] supply *posset* from the following *possent*.

27 *ad salutem contenderent*] this expression seems to stand midway between such a phrase as *contendere ad oppidum*, where a definite locality is to be reached, and *contendere ad laudem*, *ad gloriam*, where *contendere* means simply 'strive to attain'. Here *salutem* almost means 'a place of safety'.

CHAP. 4.

10 *vix ut*] for the misplacement of *vix* cf. I. 6; II. 28.

iis rebus...administrandis] translate freely, 'for ordering and arranging the proposed means of defence'.

33 *gaesa*] long heavy javelins: the word is of Keltic origin. Cf. Verg. Aen. VIII, 661 *duo quisque Alpina coruscant* | *gaesa manu.*

p. 3. 1 *integris viribus*] 'while their vigour was unimpaired'.

2 *ex loco superiore*] from the raised earthworks of the Roman camp.

7 *non modo*] for *non modo non:* the second *non* is only omitted when a negative follows (as here *ne quidem*), and then only when the predicate is common to both clauses. It would not be correct to omit the *non* from such a sentence as *non modo non interfectus est sed ne levissimum quidem vulnus accepit*, where each of the two clauses has its distinct predicate. In the sentence before us *facultas dabatur* belongs to both clauses.

9 *sui recipiendi*] for *sui* where *se* might be expected cf. my note on V. 38; in the other examples from Caesar *sui* strictly represents the acc. pl. *se*, here it represents the acc. sing.

CHAP. 5.

14 *primi pili centurio*] the centurion of the first century of the Triarii, also called *primipilus*, as in II. 25 where the exploits of Baculus in the campaign against the Nervii are mentioned; cf. VI. 38.

18 *experirentur*] the imperfect is admissible because *accurrunt* and *docent* are historic presents.

19 *centurionibus*] in the 8 cohorts there would be 48 centurions, there being 60 centuries, and consequently 60 centurions, in a legion.

certiores facit] used here rather in the sense of 'orders' than 'informs'.

20 *tela missa exciperent*] *excipere* frequently used of awaiting or receiving an attack here denotes watching and avoiding or parrying missile weapons: cf. I. 52 *impetum gladiorum exceperunt.*

CHAP. 6.

25 *sui colligendi*] cf. note on 4 *sui recipiendi.*

26 *in spem venerant*] 'had entertained the hope'.

32 *armis exutis*] 'stripped of their arms', 'disarmed'. *armis* is abl. after *exutis*, cf. V. 51 *omnes armis exuit.*

p. 4. 1 *atque...videbat*] lit. 'and remembered that he had entered his winter-quarters with one plan (but) saw that he had met with far other issues'. The repetition of *alius* serves to mark the contrast; he had wished for one thing and found another. Translate more freely 'and saw on recalling the past that he had met with issues widely differing from the design with which he had entered winter-quarters'. The reading *videbat* is preferable to *viderat;* see appendix.

5 *demorante*] *demoror* is used elsewhere by Caesar; only once by Cicero.

6 *legionem*] of course he picked up on his way the two cohorts stationed among the Nantuates.

inde in Allobroges] after quitting the Rhone valley he would skirt the S. bank of the lake of Geneva. He may have wintered at Vienna (Vienne) the chief town of the Allobroges.

CHAP. 7.

9 *superatis Belgis*] the subjugation of the Belgae is narrated in Bk. II, the expulsion of the Germans under Ariovistus in Bk. I.

11 *Illyricum*] the province of Illyricum was entrusted to Caesar along with the two Gauls for five years in 59 B.C. In April 56 B.C. Caesar was at Luca where he had an interview with Pompey and Crassus, the latter of whom he had previously met at Ravenna. The result of the conference was that Pompey and Crassus were to be nominated consuls for the ensuing year and Caesar's command was to be prolonged for another five years. Cf. Plut. Caes. 21; Cic. Ep. Fam. I. 9; ad Q. Fr. II. v (Wesenberg); Suet. Caes. 24.

12 *regiones cognoscere*] 'make himself acquainted with the country'.

13 *P. Crassus*] son of M. Licinius Crassus the triumvir.

14 *proximus mare Oceanum*] 'very near the Ocean': the Andes were not contiguous to the sea: *proximus* is not used with an acc. in Cicero; Caesar has it with the dative as well, cf. 11 *Treveros qui proximi flumini Rheno sunt.*

15 *Andibus*] this tribe has given its name to Anjou. See my note on II. 35.

16 *praefectos tribunosque militum*] the *praefecti* were the officers of the *socii*, the *tribuni militum* officers of the legion, six being attached to each legion. Cf. notes on I. 39.

18 *Esuvios*] for these three tribes see my notes on II. 34. Napoleon on no satisfactory grounds proposes to read *Venellos* for *Venetos.*

CHAP. 8.

22 *Britanniam*] there seems to have been a good deal of intercourse between Gaul and Britain in Caesar's time though the Gauls knew little of the interior of the island. It was visited chiefly by merchants who confined their traffic to the dwellers on the coast: IV. 20. The Britons usually furnished auxiliaries in the Gallic wars: infra 9, IV. 20. In VI. 13 Caesar tells us that the cultus of the Druids originated in Britain and that those who desired a more accurate acquaintance with its mysteries were in the habit of visiting the island for that purpose.

23 *scientia atque usu*] almost 'theoretical and practical knowledge'.

reliquos antecedunt] Cicero Off. I. 105 has *quantum natura hominis pecudibus antecedat*, Brut. 82. "Caesar has *praecedere* with the acc. (B. G. I. 1) and also *antecedere*, the latter 7 times and never with the dative" (Seyffert).

24 *impetu*] 'fury' 'impetuousness'. The words *atque aperto* have an awkward sound in their present position though there is no need to suspect their genuineness. Perhaps one may translate freely, 'and since there are but few harbours, and those occupied by themselves, breaking the coast-line of their wild and shelterless sea, they have made tributaries of nearly all who navigate it'.

26 *fit initium*] Caesar means that the Veneti first set the example of detaining the Roman legati. This explanation is due to Schneider.

29 *ut sunt...consilia*] 'with the sudden impulsiveness of Gauls in forming their plans'. Caesar frequently speaks of the fickleness and impulsiveness of the Gallic character. The word *repentinus* is well illustrated in Lewis and Short. For the structure of the sentence cf. Tac. An. I. 28 *ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem perculsae semel mentes* 'with the usual proneness to superstition of minds once terrorstruck': Cic. Tusc. I. 108 *permulta alia colligit Chrysippus, ut est in omni historia curiosus* 'with his usual curiosity in all matters of history'.

31 *per suos principes*] 'among their chief men'.

33 *omnis*] I take this to be for *omnes* and not genitive agreeing with *fortunae* though that would make good sense. Then for the position of the word between *eundem* and *exitum*, cf. VI. 40 *eundem omnes ferant casum.*

p. 5. 2 *acceperant*] the indicative in a dependent relative clause is unusual, cf. however V. 11 and VII. 78. See appendix.

CHAP. 9.

9 *institui*] 'appointed', *comparari* 'collected'. Kraner points out that it would be more difficult to provide a sufficient supply of *nautae* and *gubernatores* than of *remiges*.

10 *cum primum*] Caesar was at Luca in April so it is probable that he did not reach the army before May.

14 *quod...fuisset*] this clause does not contain a direct statement of the writer but is a part of the thought of the Gauls, hence the subjunctive *fuisset*. *ad omnes nationes* 'among', or 'in the sight of, all nations'. For the sanctity of *legati* cf. Dionys. Hal. XI. 25 *ἔστι δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατόν τε καὶ τιμιώτατον ὁ πρεσβευτὴς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐξουσίαν μὲν ἄρχοντος ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν, ἀσυλίαν δὲ καὶ σεβασμὸν ἱερέως* and other passages quoted in S. D. A. 'legatus'.

18 *multum confidebant*] *multum confidere* occurs again in 25.

19 *concisa*] 'intersected'.

20 *neque*] the negative of course belongs only to *posse* not to *confidebant*: *neque posse confidebant*=*et non posse confidebant.*

22 *ac iam...acciderent*] 'and even supposing that everything turned out contrary to expectation'.

26 *concluso mari*] such as the Mediterranean with which the Romans were most familiar.

31 *Osismos*] the Osismi occupied a district corresponding to the department of Finistère. The Lexorii have left their name in Lisieux formerly Noviomagus in Normandy. The name of the Namnetes survives in Nantes formerly Condivincum. Nothing is known about the Ambiliati; they are provisionally placed by Napoleon on the S. bank of the Loire below the Namnetes and the Andes. The Morini occupied N. Picardy. The Diablintres were a division of the Aulerci and occupied Western Maine: see my note on II. 34. The Menapii were situated between the Scheldt and the Rhine.

33 *auxilia ex Britannia*] cf. IV. 20 *omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde* (from Britain) *sumministrata auxilia intellegebat.*

CHAP. 10.

p. 6. 3 *iniuriae retentorum equitum*] 'the wrongs done by the retention of the Roman knights'.

4 *datis obsidibus*] concessive abl. abs. 'though they had given hostages'.

5 *ne*] one of the many considerations that influenced him was the fear lest (*ne*) etc.

hac parte neglecta] 'if he were to neglect this quarter'.

8 *mobiliter celeriterque*] 'under the influence of a hasty impulse'.

CHAP. 11.

12 *Treveros*] a powerful Keltic people who occupied a large district on both sides of the Mosel, extending as far as the Rhine. They affected a Germanic origin and bore a strong resemblance to the Germans in character and customs. The province of Trier and the town of Trèves still preserve their name.

14 *Remos*] the departments of Marne and Ardennes correspond roughly to the territory occupied by the Remi. Their chief *oppidum* was Durocortorum, afterwards called Remi, now Rheims.

Belgas] cf. I. 1 with notes. According to Strabo there were 15 Belgic tribes; the list is made out by Desjardins II. 4 § 3.

17 *cohortibus legionariis*] cohorts of the legions, not auxiliary cohorts *cohortes sociorum*.

21 *Venellos*] the Venelli, or perhaps Unelli, occupied the department of Somme, the Curiosolitae the department of Côtes du Nord. Cf. note on II. 34.

23 *Pictonibus*] the Pictones have given their name to the province of Poitou and the town of Poitiers, and the Santones to the province of Saintonge and the town of Saintes formerly Mediolanum. Caesar had not previously specified any particular tribes as being required to furnish ships, cf. 9 *naves longas aedificari in flumine Ligere iubet.*

26 *pedestribus copiis*] notice the omission of *cum* and contrast *cum cohortibus legionariis duodecim proficisci iubet.* The preposition could not have been omitted if *copiis* had stood by itself without *pedestribus*, the rule being that *cum* is used with expressions denoting an armed force unless an attribute be added and sometimes when an attribute is added. It is used too when a particular number of troops etc. is specified. Roby § 1235, Draeg. 1 § 225. 2.

CHAP. 12.

27 *lingulis*] perhaps the only passage in which the word is used in the sense of a 'tongue' of land: the meaning is more clearly defined by the addition of *promunturiis*. Kampen suggests that the tongue of land occupied by the fortress of Port Louis opposite Lorient may have been the site of one of these *oppida*.

29 *quod bis...spatio*] the MSS all have XII for which on first thoughts one would expect XXIV, and so Kraner reads; but I believe that Heller has satisfactorily defended the vulgate. He says that Caesar is referring to the flow of the tide which continues for 6 hours, after which the ebb prevails for another 6 hours and then the flood-tide recommences: thus Caesar is correct in saying that in the space of 12 hours the flow of the tide (*aestus se ex alto incitans*) is twice in progress: e.g. supposing it to be low water at 12 noon it will be high water about 6 p. m., low water again shortly after midnight; then at, say, 4 p. m. the tide will be flowing and it will again be flowing at 1 or 2 a.m.; that is, it will be twice flowing within the space of 12 hours. Caesar thus emphasises the shortness of time within which his operations had to be carried on, the enemies' strongholds being inaccessible except at low water and the ships being unable to navigate the shallow seas except at high water. Had Caesar written XXIV he would, as Heller says, have been giving his readers a piece of information which they must all have learnt at school, cf. Heller in Philologus XXXI p. 532 sqq.

31 *utraque re*] 'on both accounts', i.e. from the difficulty of attacking whether by land or by sea'.

32 *magnitudine operis*] 'by the vastness of his works': this is further explained by the following *extruso* etc., 'as he expelled the sea by means of a dam and moles and raised them to a level with the walls of the town'. The following explanation of these works is given by Napoleon after Göler. "The Romans constructed at low water on the firm soil (of the promontory at the end of which the town was situated) two parallel moles serving at the same time as terraces and leading up to the town. During the course of their construction, the space comprised between these two moles was flooded at high water; but as soon as they succeeded in attaching these to the town, this space, into which the water could no longer penetrate, remained henceforward dry and offered to the besiegers a kind of parade-ground, from which to attack". When the Romans had thus completed these preparations for attacking the town by land the enemy brought up their ships on the seaward side and removed themselves and their effects to another stronghold.

p. 7. 2 *facultatem*] cf. 9 *neque ullam facultatem habere navium.*

CHAP. 13.

11 *excipere*] 'to cope with'.

14 *robore*] oak.

quamvis] 'any degree of force and violence'. *contumelia* is properly contemptuous insolence displayed in manner or words, thence insolent action, or insolence inflicted by one person on another, as in Tac. Hist. III. 85 *os offerre contumeliis* where it is almost equivalent to 'blows'. Then by an extension of usage it comes to be occasionally employed of the violence exerted by inanimate objects or natural forces as here by the sea.

15 *transtra*] thwarts, cross-benches: it appears from the next chapter that

the Gallic ships were not usually propelled by oars; one must not however assume with Kraner that no provision was made for rowers in case of need.

pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus] 'consisting of beams a foot in thickness'.

16 *digiti pollicis*] *pollex* is not connected with *polleo* as the Lexicons assert but with *porricio* (for the change of *r* to *l* cf. *polliceor* to hold out, by way of promise): *pollex* then means 'the outstretched', 'the pointer'. *digitus* and δάκτυλος are probably connected with δέχομαι from the root δεκ, and the word therefore means 'the holder', 'receiver', as the German *Finger* is connected with *fangen* 'to seize'. The word *pollex* would be sufficient by itself without *digitus*.

17 *alutae*] skins prepared with alum (*alumen*).

18 *hae*]=*et hae quidem* or *atque hae* (as in V. 15): 'and these (were used), either because of the dearth' etc.

27 *adigebatur*] I write this for *adiciebatur* in obedience to Madvig, so 14 *tela adigi:* cf. IV. 23 note.

28 *copulis*] 'grappling-irons'.

29 *et se vento dedissent*] see appendix.

CHAP. 14.

p. 8. 4 *paratissimae atque...ornatissimae*] 'thoroughly equipped and furnished with every kind of warlike appliance'.

5 *portu*] probably the mouth of the river Auray.

9 *cognoverant*] 'they had (previously) ascertained', 'they had learnt by previous experience'. Cf. V. 8 *contendit ut eam partem insulae caperet qua optimum esse egressum superiore aestate cognoverat.*

10 *turribus excitatis*] 'though they erected towers': *excitare* is often used in this sense, perhaps with an implied notion of hasty erection, in which case it would correspond to our expression 'to run up': cf. V. 40 *turres excitantur incredibili celeritate;* B. C. I. 25 *turres excitabat:* in the same chapter we are told that Pompey constructed similar towers on his ships, *ibi* (i.e. on board his vessels) *turres cum ternis tabulatis erigebat easque multis tormentis et omni genere telorum completas ad opera Caesaris appellabat.*

tamen] 'nevertheless', following the concessive ablative absolute *turribus excitatis.*

has] for the form of the sentence (instead of *turres excitatas altitudo ...superabat*) Kraner compares IV. 21 *quibus auditis...eos domum remittit*, V. 4 *principibus convocatis hos...conciliavit* and elsewhere.

11 *ex barbaris navibus*] 'from the quarter of', 'in the direction of the barbarian ships'. Caesar apparently uses this phrase instead of the simpler *barbararum navium* ('the height of the prows *of* the barbarian ships'; which is what he really meant) in order to avoid the ambiguous double genitive *puppium barbararum navium.*

neque...et] so often in Greek οὔτε...τε.

12 *gravius acciderent*] 'fell with greater weight': cf. 25 *tela non frustra acciderent;* Liv. II. 50 *tela ab omni parte accidebant.*

13 *magno usui res*] 'a thing of great utility', predicative dative.

14 *praeacutae*] sharpened at the end or edge: for the *murales falces* cf. VII. 22 note.

absimili] "*absimilis* only here in Caesar, and otherwise chiefly used by late writers; usually in connection with a negative". Kraner.

15 *antemnas*] 'sailyards'.

cum...comprehensi...erant] 'whenever the ropes...had been caught and drawn tight'. *cum* with the plup. indic. is used of repeated action.

24 *colles*] Napoleon thinks that Caesar was encamped on the heights of Saint Gildas near Sarzeau overlooking the Bay of Quiberon.

CHAP. 15.

26 *cum...circumsteterant*] 'whenever a single ship was surrounded by two or three'. I do not agree with the remark of Thomann quoted and approved by Kampen that the Roman ships must have been more numerous than those of the enemy. Caesar does not say that every Gallic ship was surrounded by two or three of the Roman galleys.

30 *ei rei*] the carrying of their ships by boarding.

32 *malacia*] μαλακία which however is not used in this sense of a 'calm' at sea. Seneca Ep. 67. 40 draws a distinction between the words here united by Caesar: *in otio inconcusso iacere non est tranquillitas, malacia est* 'to lie sunk in undisturbed leisure is not rest, it is effeminacy'.

p. 9. 4 *ab hora fere quarta*] about 10 or 11 a.m.

CHAP. 16.

6 *cum*] followed by *tum* = both ..and.

7 *gravioris*] 'more experienced'.

8 *navium quod ubique fuerat*] 'all the ships that were anywhere to be found': for the idiom cf. IV. 22 *quod navium longarum habebat* 'all the ships of war that he had'.

10 *neque...habebant*] 'they had no place'. There is a slight zeugma here: with the first clause, *quo se reciperent*, *habere* retains its literal meaning of 'to have'; 'they had no place to which to betake themselves': with the second clause *quemadmodum oppida defenderent*, it may be translated by 'to know', as ἔχω frequently in Greek, 'they did not know how to defend their towns'.

14 *senatu*] here as elsewhere Caesar applies Roman terms to foreign institutions. He means the Gallic chiefs or elders.

sub corona] it was an old custom for slaves sold by auction to wear a garland. We are also told that slaves whom the seller would not guarantee wore a *pilleus* or felt cap.

CHAP. 17.

16 *Sabinus*] cf. 11 where we learn that his force consisted of three legions.

18 *summam imperii*] 'the chief command', followed by the genitive *civitatum*.

21 *Aulerci Eburovices*] one of the three branches of the Aulerci, the other two being the Aulerci Diablintes in western Maine and the Cenomani in eastern Maine. The Aulerci Eburovices lived in the neighbourhood of Evreux which derives its name from them.

senatu] see note on last chapter.

27 *loco*] Napoleon places the camp of Sabinus on a hill called le Petit-Celland situated about 7 kilomètres east of Avranches, between the road from Avranches to Mortain and the little river Sée. On this hill there are vestiges of a camp of later date called le camp du Chastellier. From the summit to the bank of the Sée there is a gentle slope of 1500 mètres which answers to the distance of 1000 *passus* given by Caesar in 19.

castris] dative after *idoneo*. *omnibus rebus* 'in every respect'.

28 *duum milium spatio consedisset*] according to Napoleon on the north side of the Sée. There is much doubt however about the locality of this battle. Caesar makes no mention of any stream.

32 *opinionem timoris*] 'belief in his fear'; so in 24, V. 57.

p. 10. 3 *legato*] 'did not think that a lieutenant ought to fight'.

CHAP. 18.

6 *praemiis pollicitationibusque*] a favourite phrase with Caesar, cf. infra 26, B. C. I. 56.

8 *pro perfuga*] 'in the guise of a deserter'.

10 *neque longius abesse quin*] 'and that there is every chance of'.

15 *superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio*] 'the hesitation of Sabinus during the last few days'. For the double genitive, cf. I. 19 *sine eius offensione animi;* II. 17 *eorum dierum consuetudine itineris*. The double genitive in 17 *summam imperii civitatum* is not quite similar.

18 *et quod*] 'and the usual readiness of men to believe what they wish for'.

19 *priusquam sit*] for the subjunctive with *priusquam* cf. Mr Reid's note on Cic. p. Corn. Balbo § 18.

21 *ut explorata victoria*] 'as though the victory were already assured'.

CHAP. 19.

24 *circiter passus mille*] see note on 17.

p. 11. 6 *animus...mens*] *animus* 'spirit', while *mens* rather denotes the *general* disposition or state of mind. The two words are frequently

found together as in I. 39 *omnium mentes animosque;* VI. 5 *totus et mente et animo in bellum Treverorum insistit;* cf. Catull. LXV. 4 *nec potis est dulcis Musarum exponere fetus | mens animi.* Cicero speaks of *mens* as *pars animi* Rep. II. 67, and in Tusc. III. 11 he says that to it *regnum totius animi a natura tributum est. mens* is strictly the intellectual part of the *animus* or soul.

CHAP. 20.

9 *P. Crassus*] he had been sent into Aquitania with 12 cohorts and a large cavalry force, as we learn from 11.

Aquitaniam] the boundaries of Aquitania were the Ocean, the upper course of the Garonne, M. Corbières and the Pyrenees. Cf. I. 1 note.

11 *ex tertia*] 'is to be considered as forming a third part of Gaul'. Such appears to be the general sense though the expression is a strange one and possibly the text is at fault.

12 *cum intellegeret*] 'understanding': notice the slight carelessness in the repetition of *intellegebat* after *cum intellegeret;* Caesar might well have written *perspiciebat* or *videbat.*

13 *L. Val. Praeconinus*] nothing appears to be known of this person.

14 *L. Mallius*] this is apparently L. Manilius Nepos who was defeated by the Aquitani in 78 B.C.: according to Livy Epit. 90 his opponent was Hirtuleius one of Sertorius' officers; cf. Orosius V. 23. In Plutarch Sertorius 12 he is called L. Lollius. It will be noticed that Caesar applies the words *paucis ante annis* to an event that happened 22 years before the period of which he is writing. Manlius had never been consul, hence he should strictly be called *propraetor* not *proconsul.*

18 *Tolosa et Narbone*] Tolosa (Toulouse) the chief town of the Volcae Tectosages; Narbo Martius (Narbonne) founded by L. Licinius Crassus 118 B.C. After *Tolosa* some inferior MSS insert *Carcasone* (Carcassone) which is retained by Long.

19 *civitates*] 'communities ot the province of Gaul bordering on these districts'; perhaps the word *Galliae* should be struck out; it is quite unnecessary.

20 *Sontiatum*] this tribe occupied the district of Sos, S.W. of Nérac, N. of the Elusates whose name survives in Elusa (Eauze). They occupied the slope of the hills of Gascony and partly the valley of the Garonne (Desjardins).

25 *convalle*] Caesar only uses *convallis* here and in V. 32.

CHAP. 21.

30 *adulescentulo*] 'stripling'. So Cicero writing in 55 B.C. calls P. Crassus *adulescens.* In Sal. Cat. 49 I. Caesar is called *adulescentulus* at the age of 39 in contradistinction to his opponent Catulus who was then *extrema aetate* about 59. P. Crassus was killed in the Parthian war in 53 B.C.; in the subsequent negotiations his father M. Crassus, then just

over 60, was treacherously murdered, Liv. Epit. 106. Cf. Ovid Fast. VI. 465 *Crassus ad Euphraten aquilas natumque suosque | perdidit et leto est ultimus ipse datus.*

32 *vertere*] perhaps *verterunt* should be read with some MSS, as Caesar seldom uses the forms in *-re.*

33 *oppidum*] Sos.

p. 12. 2 *cuniculis*] a similar device was employed by the besieged Gauls at Avaricum (Bourges), VII. 22 *aggerem cuniculis subtrahebant eo scientius quod apud eos magnae sunt ferrariae atque omne genus cuniculorum notum atque usitatum est.*

4 *aerariae secturaeque*] *aerariae* 'copper mines', *secturae* 'cuttings', 'diggings', 'mines à ciel ouvert', Desjardins, who thinks that Caesar is alluding to iron mines which are known to have been worked in Gaul chiefly by the Bituriges, see the quotation in the last note. The Veneti too seem to have had iron works, cf. supra 13 *ancorae pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctae.*

CHAP. 22.

8 *in ea re...intentis*] in 26 Caesar writes *omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis; intendere* may also be followed by *in* with accusative.

9 *Adiatunnus*] M. Desjardins remarks that the Gallic name of this king seems to authorise the conjecture that the Sontiates were a people dwelling on the borders of two ethnographically distinct groups, viz. the Ibero-Aquitanians and the Gauls: II. 644 n. 4. The name should perhaps be spelt *Adiantumnus.*

10 *soldurios*] Nicolaus of Damascus quoted by Athenaeus VI. 54 says that these men *καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν τῇ πατρίῳ γλώττῃ σιλοδούρους, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν* 'Ελληνιστὶ *εὐχωλιμαῖοι.* Nicolaus flourished shortly before the Christian era. It is not clear whether he derives his information from any other source besides Caesar's commentary, or whether he is merely expanding Caesar's account. From Caesar's description alone one could scarcely tell whether the 600 were severally bound by ties of loyalty and affection to their king, and lived and died with him, or whether they consisted of pairs of devoted friends owning a general allegiance to the king, in which case one might compare them to the sacred band of Thebes. The authority of Nicolaus, whatever it may be worth, and general probability pronounce for the former view. Plutarch Sertorius 14 mentions a similar custom as prevailing among the Iberians to which he gives the name of *κατάσπεισις.*

13 *sibi mortem consciscant*] the usual phrase for suicide.

15 *quisquam*] placed emphatically at the end of the clause.

16 *cum his*] these words are really unnecessary as Caesar had already written *cum sexcentis devotis,* but they are added by way of picking up the thread of the sentence which had been interrupted by the long *parenthesis.*

CHAP. 23.

21 *Vocatium et Tarusatium*] we have no means of ascertaining the exact position of these tribes. Desjardins suggests that the Vocates may be identified with the *civitas Vasatica* of the 'Notitia Provinciarum', and with the Vassei of Pliny who also mentions among the Aquitanian communities a tribe of Basaboiates or Basabocates, the latter part of whose name suggests the Vocates of Caesar. The Vasates appear to have left their name in Bazas a town in the department of Gironde. The Tarusates are doubtfully identified by Desjardins with the Toruates of Pliny with the suggestion that they may be the same as the Aturenses of the Notitia, whose name survives in Adura (Aire) on the Adour in the department of Landes It will be noticed that supposing this identification to be correct the Vocates and Tarusates lie to the N. and S. respectively of the Sotiates (Sos), a view scarcely supported by Caesar's way of speaking of them.

23 *natura*] cf. v. 57 *et loci natura et manu munitissimis castris.*

paucis diebus quibus] 'a few days after he had arrived there': for the construction, cf. IV. 18 *diebus decem quibus materia coepta erat comportari exercitus traducitur;* V. 26 *diebus circiter quindecim quibus in hiberna ventum est initium tumultus ortum est.*

25 *coniurare*] 'to take the military oath', cf. VII. 1.

26 *civitates*] such as the Ilergetes, Vascones, Vaduli, etc.

31 *omnes annos*] for the whole period of his campaign; the Sertorian war lasted from 82 to 72 B.C.

33 *loca capere*] 'to choose positions' for encampment.

p. 13. 5 *non cunctandum quin*] cf. II. 2 *dubitandum non existimavit quin proficisceretur.* See Mr Reid's note on Cic. de Senect. 16.

CHAP. 24.

9 *duplici acie*] Crassus drew up his force in two lines instead of in the usual *acies triplex.* The auxiliaries which were usually posted on the wings he stationed in the centre of the line, having no great confidence in them, as is stated in 25.

13 *obsessis...potiri*] *commeatu intercluso* expresses the means by which they hoped to gain the victory, while *obsessis viis* expresses the means by which they would cut off the supplies: thus the two ablatives are not co-ordinate. 'They thought it the safer plan to block the roads and so by cutting off their supplies to gain a victory without any bloodshed'.

23 *ad hostium castra*] Napoleon remarks that this is the only occasion during the whole campaign on which the Romans attacked a fortified Gallic encampment.

CHAP. 25.

27 *ad aggerem*] 'for the purpose of making an *agger*'. The Romans found it necessary to construct a sloping mound leading up to the high earthworks of the Gauls.

speciem...praeberent] 'looked like combatants and were believed to be so'.

30 *acciderent*] the same word is used of falling weapons in 14.

32 *ab decumana porta*] 'on the side of the *porta decumana*': so *a dextra* 'on the right hand.' The enemy must have constructed their entrenched camp on the same principle as the Romans, with two cross-ways intersecting, each terminated at either end by a gateway.

CHAP. 26.

p. 14. 3 *intritae*] besides this passage the word is only quoted from Columella where it is used literally in the sense of 'not rubbed'.

5 *ad pugnam intentis*] cf. on 22 *in ea re intentus.*

8 *videri*] supply *possent* from the following *posset;* cf. supra 3 where the impersonal *posset* has to be supplied with *subsidio veniri* for the following *possent:* 'before they could be clearly seen by them (the enemy) or it could be known what was going on'. Of course it would be possible to take posset with *videri* as well as with *cognosci*, 'before it could be clearly seen or known', etc.; but the other way is preferable.

10 *accidere*] here used not of a misfortune, but of an unexpected or unforeseen occurrence.

11 *inpugnare*] this word is less often used in its literal than in its metaphorical or derived sense (*impugnare sententiam*, etc.); still less frequently is it used without an object, as here.

15 *Cantabris*] the Cantabri were a powerful tribe on the N. coast of Spain and from them the bay of Biscay received the name of *mare Cantabricum.* The *bellicosus Cantaber* gave the Romans some trouble in the time of Augustus and was with difficulty subdued, cf. Hor. Od. I. 6 *Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra* and III. 8 *servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae | Cantaber sera domitus catena.*

CHAP. 27.

19 *Tarbelli*] this tribe occupied the western portion of the departments of Landes and Basses Pyrénées. Pliny calls them *Tarbelli quatuor-signani* which means that their land was occupied by 4 *centuriae.* Strabo says that they possessed gold mines. Their chief centre was *aquae Tarbellicae* (Dax). The Cocosates (*sexsignani*, Pliny) mentioned below were probably a small tribe dependent on the Tarbelli occupying the district near Castets in Landes.

Bigerriones] their limits correspond roughly to the department of Hautes Pyrénées, with chief town Bigorra, now perhaps Cieutat.

About 14 miles S.E. of Tarbes there is a town called Bagnères de Bigorre, one of the most fashionable of the watering-places of the Pyrenees.

Ptianii] of this tribe nothing whatever is known; even the name is uncertain.

Elusates] they occupied the district of Elusa now Eauze. In the 'Notitia Provinciarum' Elusa is called the *civitas metropolis* of the Novempopulana of Aquitania.

20 *Gates*] nothing whatever is known of this people.

Ausci] occupied the central or southern part of the department of Gers. They gave their name to Auch.

Garumni] not elsewhere mentioned; one may conclude that they bordered on the Garonne.

Sibuzates] this tribe may have given its name to Saubusse on the Adour.

21 *hoc facere neglexerunt*] Caesar might have omitted *hoc facere*, as in IV 38 *eo duae omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt, reliquae neglexerunt.*

CHAP. 28.

25 *qui in armis essent*] notice *essent* not *erant;* the *qui* is causal.

30 *silvas ac paludes*] cf. VI. 5 *erant Menapii propinqui Eburonum finibus perpetuis paludibus silvisque muniti.*

CHAP. 29.

p. 15. 6 *inermibus inprudentibusque*] 'while unarmed and off their guard'. This is an abl. abs., the dative not being found after *impetum facere* (Kraner).

14 *sub pellibus*] 'under canvas'. The Roman *tabernacula* or *tentoria* were usually made of skins, *tentoriae pelles.*

16 *Aulercis*] no doubt the Aulerci Eburovices of whom mention has been made before.

17 *proxime*] 'lately'; see appendix.

APPENDIX.

A BRIEF list of the chief MSS of the Bellum Gallicum is given in an appendix to my edition of Bks. I, II, to which I may here refer, merely repeating that the best MSS, according to Frigell's estimate of their value, are lettered P R A M V; and the second class T L U H.

P. 1, l. 17, *ad hiemandum;* so all the MSS, except that P has *gemandum:* the words are obviously out of place here and Kraner proposes to omit them. Perhaps they should be inserted between *cohortibus* and *attribuit.*

P. 2, l. 8, V T U C Barb. insert *absentibus* after *erant:* the word is unnecessary, since *detractis* is to be taken with *compluribus singillatim* as well as with *cohortibus duabus.*

P. 2, l. 30, P R A M omit *iis,* so Kraner and Vielhaber perhaps rightly.

P. 3, l. 11, MSS *nostris,* but in V. 33 all the MSS agree in *eum;* in II. 10 only T L have *ipsis;* cf. Nipperdey ann. crit.

P. 4, l. 2, I follow Dinter and Heller (Philologus XXXIV. 715) in reading *videbat* for the *viderat* of the MSS, which may easily have arisen from the previous *meminerat.*

P. 4, l. 17, after *frumenti* L U H add *commeatusque petendi.*

P. 5, l. 2, P R A V *acceperant,* T U *acceperint.*

P. 5, l. 12, P R A M V T L U J Barb. add *certiores facti* after *adventu* from misapprehension of the construction, cf. Nipperdey Quaest. p. 66.

P. 5, l. 23, P R A M V T L U J have *posse quam Romanos neque.* The confusion may have arisen from the words *Romanos* and *neque* getting transposed.

P. 5, l. 27, Frigell should not have omitted the words *atque apertissimo* which have abundant MS authority: their omission in A M is no doubt due to ὁμοιοτέλευτον.

P. 5, l. 30, T U omit *esse,* so Kraner as more in accordance with Caesar's usage, cf. Hermes III. 375.

P. 6, l. 9, T U curiously have *libertatis studiose incitari;* no doubt the words *studiose incitari* were originally an explanation of *mobiliter celeriterque excitari* written in the margin, whence they ultimately crept into the text and ousted *studere.*

P. 6, l. 29, *bis accedit* (*accidit* T J) *semper* P R A M V L; *iis* (*his* H) *accidit semper* U. The MSS agree in XII. (*duodecim*).

P. 7, l. 20, P R A M V *sustinere* wrongly: *sustineri* T U.

P. 7, l. 28, *scopolis* P, all other MSS *scopulis*.

P. 7, l. 29, I follow Kraner and Nipperdey in giving the reading of L and T (*sec. man.*); there is much confusion in most of the MSS chiefly due to the absorption of *et* by the final syllable of *coepisset*. Frigell wrongly omits *et se vento dedissent*.

P. 8, l. 16, *destinabant* T and M (*sec man.*), *distinebant* P R A U H: the two words are similarly confused in IV. 17.

P. 8, l. 27, *circumsteterant* all MSS but T L U which have *circumsisterent*.

P. 9, l. 27, *sese tenebat* P R M, *se retinebat* A.

P. 11, l. 18, T L U H insert *Carcasone* after *Tolosa:* this may be right.

P. 11, l. 31, *tamen* MSS, *tandem* found in one or two early editions is adopted by Nipperdey.

P. 11, l. 32, *vertere* P R A V, *verterunt* T, *verter* M U; probably *verterunt* should be read.

P. 12, l. 4, *aerariae secturaeque* all MSS (except T *securaeque*): Kraner writes *aerariae structurae*.

P. 13, l. 10, *coniectis* T, *conlectis* U, *collectis* P R A M V H G.

P. 13, l. 19, MSS absurdly *timidiores*.

P. 14, l. 3, the somewhat unusual *intritae* is variously corrupted in the MSS, P R A M have *interritae*.

P. 14, l. 7, *prorumptis* P, *proruptis* R A M V T U: *prorutis* is an old and universally adopted correction.

P. 15, l. 17, *proxime* apparently only in T, all the rest *maxime*.

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